Daily Report

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BASHKIMI: Terrorism Bourgeois Instrument

AU0405193188 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 28 Apr 88 pp 3-4

[Ilir Gurakuqi article: "Terrorism: A Failed Instrument in the Service of Bourgeois Authority"]

[Text] A clamorous return of terrorism has been observed in recent days and weeks: A terrorist commando hijacked a Kuwait Airlines aircraft, killing two innocent passengers. A bomb explosion in a Naples bar killed five people and injured a number of others. In the Italian city of Forli, "the Red Brigades" killed Senator Ruffini. A commando killed Abu Jihad, deputy commander of the PLO, and three of his bodyguards in Tunis. Thus, following a relative lull in 1987, at the beginning of 1988 terrorism has now returned in its traditional forms: hijackings, execution-style assassinations of public figures, and bomb explosions in public places.

It is obvious that the return of terrorism has also been accompanied by the return of and even the concentration of attention toward this phenomenon. Everybody speaks about it. Efforts are even being made in bourgeois propaganda (spoken, written, and visual) to stress the inhuman and horrendous aspect of terrorism. It is termed as incomprehensible and absurd. But the speculation reaches its climax when the discussion deals with the key problem represented by this manifestation: the causes of terrorism, who incites it, and how it can be combated. But, in order to understand who really stands behind the phenomenon of terrorism, it is first necessary to provide the answer to the question:

Whom Does Terrorism Serve? [subhead]

Regardless of the fact that its forms may vary, terrorism is not a manifestation that has appeared for the first time in our times. The history of the 20th century is filled with a large number of events and facts which make it possible to define its essence precisely. Terrorism has not been and is not a consequence merely of the erroneous behavior of particular individuals or of particular groups of individuals. Terrorism has always been and remains one of the most vicious instruments with which the bourgeoisie achieves its policy, goals, and domination.

The bourgeoisie and capitalists have not used this instrument indiscriminately. It has always been used in particular situations, when the bourgeoisie's power has been shaken. And the present is such a situation. The capitalist world is experiencing its most profound economic, political, social, and moral crisis. The profound contradictions eroding this rotten world have reached an unprecedented level of exacerbation. In order to preserve its domestic and international domination, the international bourgeoisie rips off its masks of "democracy." Violence comes to the foreground in all its forms. Among these, terrorism occupies a special place.

On the internal plane, it serves to create suitable conditions for the fascistization of life. The calculation is a simple one: If people are afraid to enter a public building lest they be sent flying by the bombs of the terrorists, if they are afraid to board a plane because they might become hostages to fortune in the hands of some bloody commando, then it is easier to impose measures and restrictions which reduce to the minimum even those truncated rights and freedoms of the bourgeois constitution.

The examples are fresh and significant. During the seventies and early eighties a number of European countries experienced a strong wave of terrorism. Murders, kidnappings, and assassinations were daily occurences. They served a dual purpose. On the one hand, to a certain extent they served to divert public attention from the class struggles, which had gained considerable momentum during that period. On the other hand, they made it possible, without too much opposition, to legalize restrictive police-type measures, which bourgeois propaganda termed as "temporary sacrifices in order to defeat terrorism." During the past 10-15 years, terrorism has experienced its ups and downs, but the police restrictions remain. From being temporary, they became permanent.

Still on the domestic plane, the aim is to discredit, through terrorism, the genuine revolutionary movement, socialism, and communism. One of the characteristics of the terrorism of the seventies and eighties was precisely its appearance under so-called leftist slogans. Terrorist organizations use terms like "Red Brigades," "Proletarian Revolutionary Army," "Union of Fighting Communists," and so forth, on purpose. When these pseudo-organizations publicly claim responsibility for the murderous acts that they perpetrate, bourgeois propaganda tells the alarmed and revolted citizen that, in the final analysis, "the other reds," are no better than these terrorist criminals!

Terrorism also provides a great service to the bourgeoisie on the international plane. According to the logic of the superpowers, every state that opposes their interests, every state that does not bend to their diktat on everything, represents an enemy who must be fought: On the one hand, because it becomes a hindrance to a concrete goal, and on the other hand, because it constitutes a "bad example" of refusing to be subjugated, and others may follow this example in future. Meanwhile, in order to fight it openly, a pretext is needed. Thus, as has been happening inevitably in recent years, the state in question is declared to be terrorist and a base for terrorism. It is accused of terrorist acts, past and present, while the majority of these are the original product of imperialist secret services. Libya is a concrete example of this policy. As is known, on 15 April 1986, 18 F-111 U.S. bombers carried out a raid against the Libyan capital, Tripoli. The balance sheet: Dozens killed, hundreds of injured, and considerable material damage. Washington's official accusation, which was not proven, was that Libya stood

behind the wave of terrorist acts during 1986. But the real "sin," which was certainly not mentioned in the official accusation, was that Libya opposed American policies in the Middle East and in the Mediterranean. In this case, as well as in other cases of this kind, one could say that small-scale terrorism, the terrorism of specially-trained criminal commandos, serves to justify large-scale terrorism, the state terrorism of the superpowers and other imperialist powers.

Through terrorism, the bourgeoisie is also trying to sling mud at the liberation wars. As far as the bourgeoisie is concerned, these are the acts of terrorists. The patriots and revolutionaries who are fighting against national and social oppression are immediately branded as "murderers" and "anarchists." But no matter how loud and diabolical this propaganda may be, it cannot mislead the peoples fighting for freedom and progress. "The right to rise against oppression and social injustices—Comrade Ramiz Alia stated at the Ninth AWP Congress—is the right to fight with arms for the freedom and independence of the country, it is an undeniable right. No ideology, no policy, no falsehood, and no deceit by imperialism and reaction can deny this right of the peoples."

The Leftist Swamp—A Reservoir of Terrorism

Terrorism is truly an instrument in the service of the bourgeoisie. But it is practiced neither by the magnates, nor by their children. From time to time, for reasons of credibility, the police arrest some members of terrorist groups. Generally, some are students, intellectuals, and now and then some workers. All of them, well-briefed, energetically refuse to be termed common criminals. They claim the status of political prisoners; they claim that they are martyrs fighting for the cause of the workers class, for the cause of the revolution, for the establishment of social justice through violence. But no sooner do they enter this terrain, no sooner do they begin to speak about their "ideals," than they begin to smell of "leftism."

Contemporary leftism, of course, tries to appear to be different from the leftism of former decades. The old theories have put on new clothing. But, no matter how much it may rustle, the new fabric is really very transparent and it is not difficult to see that, in essence, the "new leftism" and the "old leftism" resemble each other like two drops of water. In theory, it is still inspired by the old reactionary philosophical concepts of subjective idealism; in practice it continues to follow what is by now the historically discredited tactics of individual action and terror. The role of the individual, of the "superman" is mythologized. The revolution is simplified to the level of a conspiracy that is carried out through the immediate action of this handful of Nietzschean supermen.

"Leftism" ignores two basic factors that led to the success of the revolution: creating the leading staff, which is the Marxist-Leninist party, and raising the consciousness of and mobilizing the workers class and other oppressed strata of the population. There has not been and there cannot be a proletarian revolution without these two factors. Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed at the Ninth AWP Congress that: "The genuine Marxists-Leninists, revolutionaries, and communists have never supported and do not support desperate terrorist and anarchistic activities and various other adventures of this type, no matter what the ideal, or the garb, or the colors. A national, democratic, or proletarian revolution is not carried out on the road of terrorism. Revolutionaries cannot reconcile themselves to terrorism in theory and in practice and contemptuously reject the accusations made against them by the bourgeoisie."

Terrorism—Failed Theory and Practice [subhead]

Terrorism exists primarily because its ideologues have never succeeded in creating a party of any importance that could politically influence the broad masses of the people. Consequently, terrorism has also failed in practice. The terrorist cells and groups, being a poor seed, never spread. They became neither regiments, nor divisions, nor armies, as was hoped by those who disseminated this seed. Terrorism finds no ground, particularly among the workers class. Class intuition was not deceived by slogans such as "revolution within the week." What good did the unbridled terrorism of the seventies bring to the workers class and people of West Europe? Bourgeois authority was not overthrown, the well-being of the people did not increase, unemployment did not cease to exist, and the American troops and bases did not shift their ground.

Terrorism has also become discredited in the eyes of the captive nations fighting for national liberation. The Palestinian rebellion in the occupied territories is a significant example. This rebellion shows that the Palestinian people do not expect their liberation through the hijacking of ships or planes, nor do they expect it by taking and killing hostages. No matter how much the terrorists may wish to present such acts as a part of the liberation struggle, these are the doings of secret agents of the imperialist powers whose aim is to discredit the Palestinian people and their struggle. What benefits did such acts bring the Palestinian? None whatsoever, except that they harmed their cause, and this was their real purpose. Whereas the heroic resistance in Beirut, and even more so the current rebellion in the occupied territories, have shaken not only the Zionist occupation, but also the imperialist powers which have made this occupation possible. At the same time, in progressive international opinion, the rebellion has increased the respect and support for the just cause of the Palestinian people. As far as this opinion is concerned, it is not the Palestinian, Afghan, and Namibian people, nor the people of Northern Ireland, who are terrorists. The terrorists

are the superpowers and the imperialist bourgeoisie, which turn terrorism into an official policy whenever it suits their purpose.

Alia, Leaders Open Tirana Sports Center

AU0205130888 Tirana ATA in English
0915 GMT 2 May 88

[Text] Tirana, May 1 (ATA)—The May Day celebration in Tirana became more beautiful by the inauguration of Tirana sports site, near the artificial lake. This joyful ceremony was attended by Comrade Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the Central Committee of the party and president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and Comrade Adil Carcani, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and chairman of the Council of Ministers; the members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party, Besnik Bekteshi; Foto Cami; Hajredin Celiku; Hekuran Isai; Lenka Cuko; Manush Myftiu; Prokop Murra; Rita Marko; Simon Stefani; Nexhmije Hoxha, chairwoman of the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, and other comrades.

At the meeting organized on the occasion the speech was made by Comrade Pirro Kondi, who said among the other things: We just attended the magnificent and enthusiastic manifestation of the working people of the capital and came here to share the joy of another important event, the inauguration of the Tirana sports site, one of the most beautiful and useful gifts of the party, with the direct care of Comrade Ramiz Alia for the youth and the entire people of the capital. Allow me that on your behalf, in the name of the entire youth and people of Tirana, to express our profound gratitude and cordial thanks to the party, its Central Committee with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head for this precious gift.

Speaking of the special care of the party and of the whole society for the younger generation, he said that the creation of Tirana Sports Site, where a very great work was done and for which the state invested over 14 million leks, meets a constant and permanent demand of the party, to create to the younger generation all the conditions that their education, training, moulding, and entertainment be done harmoniously.

Further on, Comrade Pirro Kondi said that bringing to you the greetings of the Central Committee of the party, the Council of Ministers, and Comrade Ramiz Alia personally, I also convey to you their cordial wish "May you wonderful youth enjoy the new sport site, a gift of the party to further enhance physical culture and sports from the qualitative point of view and give to it a mass character."

Our present is flourished, Comrade Pirro Kondi said in conclusion, but more prosperous and happier is our future.

Then Comrade Ramiz Alia and other party and state leaders visited the environments of this site, the swimming pools, the games ground, "Dinamo" sports club complex, etc. Comrade Ramiz Alia meets with youngsters and little children, congratulates them and wished them higher results in sport.

Comrade Ramiz Alia watched for some moments sports competitions and matches and instructs that constant activities be conducted here and that it be turned into an important center of education, physical training and entertainment of the youth and people of the capital.

Comrade Ramiz Alia left the sports site seen off with applauses of the young boys and girls.

Sofia Radio Comments on Strike in Poland

AU0505102288 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] The interruptions in the work of some Polish enterprises are causing concern in the country. The government has appealed for normal work to be resumed. Kosta Stefanov, our correspondent in Warsaw, reports on the situation in certain enterprises.

[Begin Stefanov recording] Despite the calls and appeals of the management of the Nowa Huta Metallurgic Combine near Krakow, the strike of part of the collective is continuing. About 1,700 workers are not working. They are demanding that their wages be increased by Z20,000. If this demand is met, the leadership of the combine will have to allocate almost Z17 billion. On the other hand, this means that now, when the mechanism of economic reform has been activated, the enterprise will be threatened with bankruptcy. Zdzislaw Sadowski, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, pointed out that such a wage increase could lead to similar demands by other workers employed in the metallurgical industry. Almost Z600 billion will be needed in such a case. If such an amount of money appears in the market, Sadowski said, we will find ourselves again in the situation of 1981, when only vinegar could be found in our shops.

The work stoppage at the Nowa Huta Combine has caused interruptions in the supply of raw materials for many plants. Thus the Polkolor plant, which produces television sets, was forced to conclude a contract with a U.S. company for the supply of special sheet iron to the tune of $52,000.

The strike of the collective of the [name indistinct] shipyard is continuing. Several hundreds of people are trying to force all the workers to stop work. They are using blackmail, psychological pressure, and even physical violence. In this context Jerzy Urban, governmental spokesman, said yesterday on Polish television that the consequences could be very serious.

In the meantime, the old and [word indistinct] persons appeared in the arena. Lech Walesa appeared several times at the Gdansk shipyard. He continued to appeal to the workers to strike. As Jerzy Urban pointed out, these strikes are not threatening the foundations of the socialist system. However, they represent a serious blow to the economic reform. The political slogans that are being raised in some places, Urban said, are undermining the process of democracy and national rebirth.

In conclusion, I would like to quote the words of Wojciech Jaruzelski, who said at Warsaw's May Day parade: We shall not relinquish glasnost, democracy, and the line of national rebirth. We shall not return to anarchy. We shall neither surrender to the pressure of the conservative forces, nor retreat under the pressure of the adventurists. [End Stefanov recording]

Lukanov, Gotsev Talk With U.S. Officials

Lukanov Concludes U.S. Visit

AU0405133988 Sofia BTA in English 1205 GMT 4 May 88

["Bulgaria, U.S.: Useful Dialogue"—BTA headline]

[Text] Washington, May 4 (BTA correspondent)—Mr Andrey Lukanov, Bulgaria's minister of foreign economic relations, completed the working visit he paid here at the invitation of the U.S. Administration.

Mr Lukanov held talks at the Departments of State and Commerce, at the Chamber of Commerce of the United States and at the U.S. Congress. He and his party established contacts with economic institutions and councils, as well as with prominent businessmen in the federal capital, in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, Midland, and New York City.

Mr Andrey Lukanov conferred with Mr George Shultz, U.S. secretary of state, to whom he handed a message from Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of Bulgaria's State Council, for Mr Ronald Reagan, President of the United States. At that meeting, the sides exchanged views on the state and the prospects of bilateral relations and found that there are opportunities for more active, meaningful and varied political, business, scientific, technological and cultural exchanges between Bulgaria and the U.S. Some specific ideas to expand business ties were also considered.

During his last two days in the U.S., Mr Andrey Lukanov met with Mr John C. Whitehead, deputy U.S. secretary of state, with a prominent congressman, Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (D—Ill.), and with Mr M. Peter McPherson, deputy secretary of the treasury.

The American officials reiterated the view that the current dialogue helps make a better use of the opportunities available for the promotion of mutually advantageous ties between Bulgaria and the U.S.

Mr Andrey Lukanov's visit was held in the spirit of the new positive tendencies which have emerged in international political life as a result of the consistent efforts of the socialist countries, Bulgaria included, toward easing tensions and fostering relations of trust, sincerity and cooperation in the best interests of all countries and peoples. The political and business circles here showed growing interest in Bulgaria's political and economic capabilities, as well as in the possibilities for wider bilateral business relations.

Mr Andrey Lukanov and his party left Washington, D.C.

Gotsev Discusses Terrorism, Narcotics

AU0405134088 Sofia BTA in English 1210 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Washington, May 4 (BTA correspondent)—Mr Lyuben Gotsev, deputy minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, had a series of meetings with senior U.S. State Department officials, including Mrs Rozanne L. Ridgway, assistant secretary of state for European and Canadian affairs, Ms Ann Wrobleski, assistant secretary of state for international narcotics matters, and Mr L. Paul Bremer, head of the State Department's Counterterrorism Unit.

The sides ascertained a positive development of bilateral contacts and expressed satisfaction over what has been achieved, especially during the last few months.

During the sessions with Ms Wrobleski and Mr Bremer, the sides noted specifically the fine results of cooperation in combatting illegal narcotics trafficking and terrorism and exchanged views on future cooperation in these fields.

Kubadinski, Delegation Depart For PRC 5 May

AU0505093488 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0800 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] A delegation of the Fatherland Front National Council, led by Comrade Pencho Kubadinski, departed on 5 May for the PRC at the invitation of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

Economic Cooperation Session Held With Malta

AU0405193888 Sofia BTA in English 1907 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Sofia, May 4 (BTA)—The opportunities for improvement of the economic relations between Bulgaria and Malta were reviewed at the 6th session of the Bulgaro-Maltese Commission for Economic Cooperation. In the future greater attention will be paid to the direct contacts between Bulgarian economic organizations and Maltese companies. It was decided to enhance the activity of the joint Bulgaro-Maltese "ELMA Motors LTD" Company for assembly of grinders and water pumps on the basis of Bulgarian components. Joint production of various parts and equipment for motor trucks will also start soon. Agreement was reached for cooperation in the production of jam using Bulgarian fruits and technologies. In the beginning that production is intended to satisfy the needs of the Maltese market.

The two sides recommended the inclusion of Bulgarian ships in the sea traffic between Malta and Western Europe.

Zhivkov Greets Egypt's Mubarak on Birthday

AU0505104288 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 4 May 88 p 2

[Text] State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov sent the following greetings message to Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak.

Esteemed Mr President, I am especially pleased to greet you on your 60th birthday and convey to you, on behalf of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and on my personal behalf, most cordial wishes for good health and further successes in your highly responsible activity for the benefit of the friendly Egyptian people.

TV News Program Quality, Objectivity Urged

AU0505102388 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No. 18 2 May 88 p 8

[Yavor Tsakov article: "The Strength of the Image"]

[Text] The advantages of television information over other types of mass media begin to emerge only when they are presented to the viewer in a specific manner. The "picture," as even the most accomplished experts in this field briefly call it, contributes considerably toward making accessible and substantiating a given event, which sometimes makes television unexpectedly powerful. It is no coincidence that the French sociologist Gerard Merme, in his book published in 1987 under the witty title "Demokratura" [title as published], stated that the mass media are subjecting the individual citizen, as well as society as a whole, to a phenomenon he calls "soft dictatorship," which combines the advantages of democracy with the shortcomings of dictatorship and is imposed by television on everyone who comes into contact with it.

Should we rejoice or be embarrassed in the face of such great objective opportunities for television information to exert an influence on everyone who sits in front of the screen, either for professional reasons, or just as a passive consumer? The answer to this question requires a profound knowledge of the social environment and of current international trends which determine the worldwide development of television.

A more outspoken analysis of the quality of our domestic productions is required, since in certain cases these productions make the viewers passive and force them to turn to other media as sources of information.

In order to achieve higher quality, the Bulgarian television news program should necessarily undergo a thorough change of substance. In this respect, it is more important to demonstrate restructuring in practice—with all its positive and imperfect aspects—instead of just talking about it in the eloquent terms of the July and November plenum documents of the BCP Central Committee and of the BCP National Conference.

The recently established trend toward the public's greater response and reaction to the domestic problems of our country, as compared with the traditional interest in international events, is very significant. The fact that the "information" directorate receives hundreds of letters a month (infinitely more than in the past) containing questions, opinions, and recommendations, and expressing human concern and hope on problems of domestic policy, prompted us to shift the balance between "foreign and domestic issues" whenever appropriate information circumstances require. There are no special efforts to provide journalistic "feedback" to specialists, politicians, and common people from all professions who appear in newscast and survey programs defending their personal experiences. Not only the mail, but also the telephones are open to proposals on how to improve our individual programs, and this fact should be taken advantage of without worrying about personal credit. More modesty is called for in such cases, because the television program enters every citizen's home, and then must leave it without having imposed its presence with the force of hobnailed boots.

It is infinitely more difficult to master another trend in the television news program concerning the radical change in political thinking in regard to the analysis of events abroad. International events may not have increased compared to the past, but visual information about them is expanding because of improved satellite communications. What we in Bulgaria watch on the television screen in connection with events in other countries is enough to satisfy the taste of an international public of experts. No artificial barriers exist, and the increased volume of visual material appearing in our news programs is the result of a more extensive and more democratic exchange with all countries in the world. The problem is that in other countries we still do not see everything that we would like to show about Bulgaria. Nevertheless, even in this respect there is a change for the better as a result of our relations with Intervision and Eurovision, and with some Asian countries, as well as with the United States. Topical information about Bulgaria today crosses our national borders and appears on the television screens of dozens of countries to an unprecedented extent as compared with the past.

Nevertheless, the quality of the large amount of topical, international information which is included in our daily television programs is not always satisfactory. It will certainly take some time to overcome some cliches in thinking, writing, and speaking that are presented in positive or negative tones and that are prepared in advance and pertain to news items that we either like or dislike, without taking into account the objective approach to them. However, not only time will contribute to the elimination of such shortcomings in our television information. Our own attitude toward individual states and ideologies will also help us to do so, since we will be better able to coordinate them with the real image of friends and enemies, with the image of partners, as a result of better opportunities to become closely acquainted with them—and vice-versa.

BZNS Supreme Council Resolution Published

AU0305195788 [Editorial Report] Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian on 30 April on pages 1 and 2 carries the approximately 2,000-word "Resolution of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union adopted on 29 April 1988."

The resolution describes Zhivkov's participation in the session of the Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS] as a "new and shiny expression of the BCP fraternal attitude toward and confidence in the BZNS and a moving expression of the communist-agrarian unity." It expresses total approval of the BCP July Concept and stresses that "the active participation of the BZNS in the process of revolutionary restructuring will increase even further the role and responsibility of the BZNS as an ally and partner of the BCP." The resolution approves "the political line and practical work of the administrative council and permanent board of the BZNS" and Petur Tanchev's speech. It expresses support of the National Assembly declaration on placing socialist property under the management and administration of the workers' collectives, "as a mainstay of restructuring," and pledges its active support for putting the declaration into effect. Similar support is expressed for self-managing, democracy, and other concepts related to restructuring. In this context the resolution also expresses support of the principle of occupying official posts for two and, in exceptional cases, three terms of service. It pledges full support of all BCP decisions on developing agriculture and the cooperative cause in Bulgaria. Further on the resolution elaborates the activity of the BZNS in support of restructuring, pointing out, among other things, efforts to "create and assert a large aktiv of young cadres," strengthening relations between the BZNS leadership and the local branches.

The final part of the resolution deals with Bulgaria's foreign policy and the new political thinking. In this context the resolution "greets the powerful attack of the new political thinking and the Soviet initiatives, proposed by Mikhail Gorbachev, which had a great impact." The resolution pledges that the BZNS will continue its international activity for "strengthening relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria with other states." In conclusion the resolution appeals to all Bulgarian agrarians "to selflessly work shoulder to shoulder with the Communists and all working people for putting into effect the decisions of the BCP National Conference on revolutionary restructuring and turning Bulgaria into a highly developed and civilized socialist state."

Terrorists' Sentences Serve as 'Severe Warning'

AU0405124388 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian Issue No 18, 2 May 88 p 3

[Chavdar Krumov article: "More...About the Sentenced Terrorists"]

[Text] Many of us remember the brief announcements published a few years ago about the explosions that occurred at Plovdiv railway station, outside Varna Airport, and in the lobby of the Sliven Hotel in the town of Sliven, as well as in the express train in the vicinity of Bunovo station.

The alarm caused by these barbaric acts of terrorism was justified. People asked themselves when the criminals would be caught and put on trial. The number of victims was not negligible. Eight persons were killed, including two children. About 50 people suffered injuries. The feeling that such incidents might be repeated was depressing.

The organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs accomplished tremendous work in connection with detecting the criminals. As a matter of fact, many severe crimes are usually detected immediately, or within a short time. This shows that the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs are doing their job.

Recently, the announcement on the trial of the terrorists was published. Chaired by Ivan Palazov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Court, a panel of this court reviewed the case, which falls under the general penal code, No 1/88 involving the defendants Elin Demirev Madzharov from Burgas, aged 43, previously sentenced for violations of currency laws; Altsek Demirev Chakurov, age 41, also from Burgas; Sava Rumenov Georgiev, age 35, from the village Cheresha, of Burgas Oblast; Sevdalin Madzharov Alipiev, aged 49, from Prilep village, Burgas Oblast; Nikola Demirev Nikolov, age 48, from Bolyarovo village, Burgas Oblast; Sevda Aldemirova Latinova, age 30, from Stara Zagora; and Milko Vasilev Vulkov, age 52, from Dulboki village, Khaskovo Oblast, who was previously sentenced seven times for various criminal actions.

Over 30 different written experts' reports and material evidence, as well as the confessions of the defendants, and testimonies of witnesses established the guilt of the aforementioned persons who are for the most part workers, heads of families, and fathers and mothers of young children.

Facilitated by poor control in the work with explosive materials in road construction, Elin Madzharov, Altsek Chakurov, and Sava Georgiev personally fabricated explosive devices and caused the explosion on 30 August 1984 in Varna Airport and in the Plovdiv railway station. On 9 March 1985 Elin Madzharov and Altesek Chakurov caused the explosion in the express train in the area of Bunovo village, as well as in the Sliven hotel.

The court sentenced Elin Madzharov, Altsek Chakurov, and Sava Georgiev to death.

Sevdalin Alipiev, who participated in the preparations of another act of terrorism, which was prevented in time by the authorities, was sentenced to prison for a term of 6 years. For providing Elin Madzharov with explosive materials, without being aware of the purpose for which they were used, Nikola Nikolov was sentenced to prison for a term of 2 years, while Sevda Latinova and Milko Vulkov were sentenced to prison for a term of 1 year and a half.

The sentences are final and cannot be appealed. They represent a severe warning to all those who would dare to make an attempt on the lives of innocent people through terrorist, subversive, or other actions.

Briefs

Cypriot Youth Delegation Visit

Sofia, May 4 (BTA)—A meeting with a delegation of the United Democratic Organization of the Youth of Cyprus, led by its Secretary General Mr Mikis Siannis, was held at the CC of the Dimitrov Young Communist League today. Mr Andrey Bundzhulov, first secretary of the CC of the Dimitrov Young Communist League, acquainted his guests with the activities of the Bulgarian Komsomol. He confirmed the solidarity of the young people of Bulgaria with the struggle of the youth and the people of Cyprus for a just and lasting solution of the Cypriot problem. On his part the guest spoke of the tasks of his organization and of the young people of Cyprus in the struggle for democracy and social progress. The two sides discussed the prospects of Balkan relations and the initiatives for establishing zones free of nuclear and chemical weapons. The talks gave a high assessment to the cooperation between the United Democratic Organization of the Youth of Cyprus and the Dimitrov Komsomol. [Text] [*AU0405193988 Sofia BTA in English 1745 GMT 4 May 88*]

Prague on Continuing Polish Strikes

LD0505104488 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 0700 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Strikes continue in the Krakow metallurgy combine and the Gdansk shipyards. Our correspondent Pavel Kopecky reports:

Unfortunately, as can be seen from the latest reports, both strikes are continuing. In the Lenin metallurgy works in Krakow some important work areas have not been working already for 10 days. About 700 employees are taking part in the strike there. Several hundred people are taking part in the strike in the Gdansk shipyard and according to information from the spokesman of the Polish Government, at its head is the former leader of so-called Solidarity, Walesa. What is more in Gdansk the strikers even tried to get into the neighboring repair shipyard and provoke a strike there also. Luckily this attempt was not successful.

The organizers of the strikes in Krakow and Gdansk have made the methods of their activity more acute. Workers and technicians who wish to work normally are put under psychological pressure, physical violence, even their families and children are threatened. The Polish Government spokesman described the behavior of the initiators and organizers of wildcat strikes in Krakow and Gdansk as terrorism and warned them of the consequences they could cause. As Polish television announced last night, the public opinion center carried out research among a representative group of the citizens of Warsaw on the subject of the strikes. Half described them as wrong, 34 percent were of the opposite opinion and 16 percent did not express an opinion. When asked whether the strikes will spread 56 percent replied no, 26 percent yes and 18 percent did not have an opinion. Of those asked 61 percent expressed the conviction that the strikes will cause a fall in the standard of living.

The plenary conference of Polish bishops has also adopted a standpoint on the present situation in the country. Among other things it states that everyone who feels responsibility for the fate of the country must be concerned about the unrest and strikes in some Polish industrial centers.

Further Report

LD0505094588 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0900 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Poland—The continuing strike in the metallurgy combine in the Nowa Huta district of Krakow is threatening the fundamental interests of Poland's inhabitants and the national economy. For this reason steps were taken this morning to renew normal activity of all process in the metallurgy works.

PAP agency has also announced that in a situation where the normal work of the Vladimir Ilich Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk has been rendered impossible, the activity of this enterprise has been stopped until the strike is called off. Employees who are not on strike are being given paid leave for this period. The director of the shipyard has asked all workers on the first and second shifts not to come to work from today, with the exception of essential services.

Civil Rights Activist Dies in Ostrava

LD0305205788 Hamburg DPA in German 1927 GMT 3 May 88

[Excerpt] Frankfurt (DPA)—Jaromir Savrda, the 54 year-old civil rights activist and cosignatory of the Czechoslovak civil rights movement Charter 77, has died of heart failure in Ostrava, according to the International Society for Human Rights based in Frankfurt am Main. The society, quoting civil rights circles in Prague, reported today that Savrda had recently again been subjected to heavy pressure from the state security service and the police. According to the Frankfurt society, Savrda, a journalist, had not been allowed to practice his profession since 1968. Most recently he worked as a boilerman. In the 1980s he served a prison service of 2 and half years for political reasons and suffered severe health problems because of it. [passage omitted]

Strougal Presents Government Policy Statement

LD0305220888 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 3 May 88

[Text] As we reported in earlier newscasts, the deputies of the Chamber of People and the Chamber of Nations discussed and approved today the policy statement of the new federal government appointed on 21 April by the president of the republic. We will now acquaint you with the main points from the speech of Lubomir Strougal, federal prime minister.

[Begin Strougal recording] The federal government has to devote the most substantial part of its activity to the tackling of socioeconomic problems. This is all the more necessary because their present-day extent is considerable and they exert negative influence upon the moral-political and socio-psychological state of the people. They are reflected both in the difficulties and disorders of the production process and in the everyday life of the population.

All this causes dissatisfaction and criticism of the working people and reduces the effect of their motivation toward high quality and responsible work. It is important to determine with utmost clarity where the main shortcomings and problems lie, where the weak spots of the national economy rest. The seventh and ninth sessions of the Central Committee and the discussions of the delegates to the district party conferences pointed out the majority of them. However, the main thing is to exactly determine the basic causes of our shortcomings and weak spots so that we can find and select specific ways out and the paths leading to their solutions.

In this respect, however, we have a great tendency toward simplification. In a certain respect one can understand that criticism is aimed at seeing all causes of difficulties and disorders everywhere but in one's own place. The hitherto administrative-command mechanism of management affords ample opportunity to shift responsibility. As the saying goes: Success always has caring parents; failure, however, is an orphan. Nobody wants to know it, or least to say it, people do not like to acknowledge it or acknowledge only a part of it.

Neither the government, nor myself personally, intend to allow ourselves to be guided by this saying. The reason for this is that this system of economic management is not secret and not lacking in human touch. This system, too, has its structure, its individual levels equipped with a certain range of authorities and responsibilities, and in this sense, with people who were placed by the party at the head of respective institutions, economic bodies, and organizations. This means that everyone should acknowledge one's own sphere. This is why I consider taking my own absolutely personal share of responsibility for the state of affairs for the shortcomings, both in the economy and in other spheres—to be honest and moral.

After all, the government as a whole is not anonymous either. Each sector, ministry, and central administration is headed by a person with a specific name and the range of responsibilities and authorities entrusted to him. I spoke about these issues as long ago as at the 17th party congress and the fact that I have not succeeded in the course of the 2 years since then in raising the standard of work of respective comrades and, under their leadership, of respective sections in such a way that would make it possible for me not to repeat the words of self-criticm today—this fact I attribute to myself as my own shortcoming.

I am expressing these words on the ground of the Federal Assembly by recalling the fact that we have been working and continue to work in the administrative-command system of economic management, in the system whose economic mechanism has in principle exhausted its abilities to manage and to motivate. The government is aware that in this connection a question can be put to it: Why then, since it has been put in front of the task to ensure the acceleration of socioeconomic development through intensification, did it not start the reform of the economic mechanism earlier?

If we are honest and frank with ourselves and if we judge this question with an open mind, we will collectively arrive at the conclusion that a certain role was played here by inertia in thinking and in the approaches to the new economic realities and that it was possible to start such a radical restructuring only after clarifying all of the most important political, ideological, and theoretical prerequisites. There is no argument about the fact that the theory and practice of the Soviet restructuring has played a positive role in this respect.

However, the government is also aware of the fact that despite this it was possible and necessary to do more. This is why I ask you, esteemed comrade deputies, to take the critical evaluation of the state of affairs also as a self-critical standpoint of the government and its individual members. [end recording]

Afterwards, Lubomir Strougal analyzed in detail the development of the national economy during the past 2 years. He said that trends continued toward the slowing down of the growth of national income, which is Kcs 15 billion lower than the directive, meaning that instead of seven percent growth national income has grown by a mere five percent. We have not succeeded in reducing the share of production consumption in the social product. He described as the main problem the low capacity to innovate slow structural changes, especially in industrial production, and lower effectiveness of scientific and technological development, as well as an excessive growth of stocks in the national economy. He went on to say:

[Begin Strougal recording] We are aware that the key thing is for us to react both as quickly and as effectively as possible, at all levels of management, to the current weak spots. It is above all necessary to consistantly fulfill the plan for the current year, in particular in its qualitative composition, in structure, and in range. From this viewpoint the first months of the current year are pointing toward a certain improvement. It will be necessary to bring the resolving of certain problems of this year's plan to a successful conclusion and this in particular in regard to the use of the output. This is because, as I have already said, the plan envisages a lower production of goods in certain branches. The resolving of the question of the use of the output concerns both the home market, export, capital investment, and material and technological supplies. The task has not yet been finally resolved either by the planning authorities or branch ministries, at either the federal or national levels.

To finally resolve the centrally balanced items is the responsibility of the central authorities and production-economic units. In cases in which economic contracts are irresponsibly broken, especially in the area of the home market, it is necessary to draw strict cadre conclusions.

We know what momentous changes are being prepared both in the center and at the enterprise level. Therefore there also exist various speculations in this connection. In the changeover to the new system of management there also exist attempts to create for oneself a favorable, that is a lower, starting base with the aim, naturally not a realistic one, of achieving less demanding economic normatives. There also exist attempts here, especially among subcontractors, to force increases in the prices of some products that are less profitable. Instead of reducing costs they are seeking this unacceptable course.

One must not overlook the fact that certain fears have emerged among some officials at various levels of management as to the security of their livelihood. This could have been foreseen, given such an extensive reorganization. But it is not possible to tolerate the nonfulfillment of commitments for this reason.

During the period of the preparations of the plans for the period of 1989-90, it is necessary to work intensively in the State Planning Commission, the national commissions, and in branch ministries to ensure that economic conditions envisioned for the new system are fully in the content of the plan for the final 2 years of the current 5-year plan. The fact is that the ongoing experiments are indicating that this is the course of helping the fulfillment of exacting qualitative indicators, of creating conditions for speeding up the innovation of products, of adapting the range of goods to consumer demands, and of better managing stocks and the overall material consumption.

One can record positive changes among the experimenting enterprises, especially in regard to their internal organization, in greater motivation of both the management and work collectives to achieve effective results.

There therefore exist realistic ways out of this complex situation in the national economy. We must however overcome at all levels of management a certain indifference and harmful notions that one has to somehow survive this period and that the new system will then settle everything miraculously. The opposite is the case. Any sector or enterprise that will not meet the tasks of the Eighth 5-Year Plan is preparing for itself considerable difficulties in the future. So every enterprise or industrial area must actually determine in this 5-year plan the results of its management in the next period too.

Comrade deputies, despite this situation in the creation of resources we have been successful so far in safeguarding the increase in the personal, and mainly in the public, consumption set by the plan. The preservation and further improvement of the living standard of the citizens is linked, however, with ever greater problems. The plan of retail turnover is considerably overstepped. Some types of textile goods, footwear, building material, electronic goods, spare components of every sort, and other consumer goods are missing from the market. We are currently discussing the issues of the stabilization of the domestic market in the rest of the Eighth 5-Year Plan. We envisage the release of greater funds for the import of unavailable goods, and we are also seeking ways to reduce exports of those articles of which our market is not sufficiently supplied. The main thing, however, is to make sure that all spheres of industry that produce goods for the domestic market safeguard the planned supplies, fulfill the concluded economic treaties, and adapt themselves to the demands of consumers with regard to assortment and quality.

We cannot be satisfied with the work of domestic trade either. Better market research, respecting the wishes of the customer, knowing his needs, and operative reaction to various swings in demands—these are problems with which ministers of domestic trade and organizations under their control must cope. With the aim of expanding the offer of consumer goods, the federal government in cooperation with the governments of the republics is implementing a several-year program of modernization of selected production of consumer goods. Aiming at this, we have released Kcs 4 and 1/2 billion for the modernization of selected production of consumer goods in the Eighth 5-Year Plan. This will include the modernization of the technical base of textile, ready-made-wear, and leather-processing industry by the import of modern equipment from nonsocialist countries. The modernization program aims at creating conditions for better satisfying the needs of our market with regard to the much sought after products of knitting, ready-made-wear, and the leather-processing industry. It will be necessary to continue these modernization actions in other areas too. For example, with regard to color TV sets, despite a relatively high increase in production and of export it is necessary to envisage that the demand will be met by the end of the 5-year plan.

If we stress the importance and the need to secure supplies to the domestic market, this also applies to the services, including public catering, transport, and communications. Their condition is generally known. It is far from being in accord with the existing standard of personal consumption of our citizens. The government is aware that to increase the standard of services necessarily presuposes the improvement of the provision of material and technology, a substantial increase in the number of qualified staff, and better supply of small machinery and instruments.

Comrades, it has already been 2 years since the 17th congress adopted the task of gradually rebuilding the economic mechanism. When we look back we cannot deny that an important step forward has been made in the understanding of the implementation of the congress guideline. It is clear that a partial improvement of the existing system of management is unthinkable in the current conditions. The current situation and its problems require comprehensive reform, which is connected with extensive democratization and with the advancement of socialist self-management.

The seventh plenary session of the party's Central Committee has adopted an important document—the Resolution on Complex Restructuring of the Economic Mechanism and its Provision. As its follow-up the government then approved a respective guideline including a timetable for the restructuring until the year 1990. The two documents have become a subject of wide public interest. The resolution of the seventh session of the Central Committee is an obligatory task for the government and this is why its efforts will center on consistently implementating its intentions and on preventing their

distorted interpretation or their diffusion in actual economic practice. Not a single task of restructuring which faces us can be underestimated: may it be a complex restructuring of the wholesale and retail prices, adjustment of the levies and taxes system, or, in particular, a complex implementation of the new rules of the management of the entire manufacturing and market sphere. The basic changes in the economic mechanism concern industry, agriculture, and the tertiary sphere. In trade and services we are trying to introduce this year to the maximum degree possible the components of the new economic mechanism. This is in the interest of consumers and in the interest of meeting their just needs.

As for agriculture, the measures which proceed from the reform are coming into force as an entire complex at the beginning of next year. At issue is an important step that should affect in a more pronounced way the efficiency of basic agricultural production. In the recent years, the profit of the united cooperative farms and of the state farms has been achieved first and foremost through growth of output, regardless of the growth of material costs, especially in associated production, and not by reducing costs per unit of agricultural production. It is necessary to renew the lead of plant production if we are to achieve effective results in animal husbandry. In order to cope with these tasks, cooperation is necessary between other industries of national economy, mainly that of machine-builders and chemical agents producers, whose considerable backwardness has so far been evident.

At the present time two tasks are the most topical, the restructuring of the content, organization, and methods of the work of central bodies and the new organization of manufacturing, scientific research, and market analysis. The government is aware that the transfer to the new conception of the work of the center will not be simple. More than in many other spheres, it is precisely in the activity of central bodies' apparatus, where the sector interests are surviving, which aim at preserving various kinds of rights and power privileges. This is why the government has to be and will continue to be a consistent guard of unanimity and of the objective nature of future legal norms and of exact definition of the authorities of central management bodies.

In this connection a decision was made regarding the reduction of the apparatus and the administrative costs linked with this. On the whole the number of employees in the state administration central bodies is to be reduced by 30 percent. With regard to the new definition of activity and authority of the ministries, this reduction will be differentiated. It will be even more pronounced in some sectors. The number of deputy ministers is being reduced and a more comprehensive formation within the framework of ministerial apparatuses is coming into existence. The future work of the government itself has to be substantially changed, too. From the viewpoint of the content of its activity, conceptual and strategic decisionmaking, the raising of its executive power in the central management sphere over basic factual and systemic questions of socioeconomic development, the substantial raising of the standard and effect of their inspection functions, and lastly, the creation of the conditions for greater participation of the working people in the decisionmaking about public affairs will come to the forefront.

In this connection it will be necessary that it rid itself of discussing such questions that fall into jurisdiction of respective sectors. We are abolishing an absolute majority of governmental commissions and committees on the federal level with the aim of making the direct and immediate responsibility of respective ministers more pronounced. The aforementioned measures will also reflect in a more intelligible organization of the division of labor between the federal government and the republican governments in that part of the economy, which, according to the Constitutional Law on Federation, belongs to the joint province of the federation and the republics.

More than ever before it will be necessary that the activity of the government is characterized by efficiency, collective approach, professionalism, and by frank, comradely cooperation. The ministers are the members of a collective body. Here the priority of the interests of the society has to percolate into their entire activity. They cannot approach their work in the government from the standpoint of protecting their interests in contradiction to the government's policy strategy, which has been collectively adopted. In the given sector they are the representatives of the state, that is, the representatives of the all-society interest. The improvement of central management itself, which to a certain degree determines the effectiveness of management at the enterprise level, must be manifested also in the change of the content and higher degree of the comprehensiveness of government's work in the field of the economy. With the growing complexity of tasks the demand of strict objectivity in all decisions and the working out of alternative solutions comes to the forefront.

We are fully aware of what the federal goverment is facing. At issue is not merely to cope with the tasks set in the current 5-year plan but also to ensure a qualitatively new preparation of the next 5-year plan in which the program of the structural changes of the national economy must be shaped very distinctly, as well as a specific and strongly motivating social program and our broader integration in the international and especially the socialist division of labor. The drafting of the Ninth 5-Year Plan must be based on a long-range outlook for social and economic development of our country up to the year 2005 and must rest on the conclusions of the collective concept of the international socialist division of labor, now being prepared, which will be discussed in July this year at a CEMA meeting in Prague.

The organizational set-up at the enterprise level is no less an important task in these weeks and months. Here, too, the uniform national criterion must prevail unequivocally over narrow local interests of general directorates of

enterprises, internal bodies of individual enterprises or territorial authorities. In the economy only what is effective is in accord with the national interest. We have stressed on many occasions that we shall not adopt a uniform form of the manufacturing base. On the contrary, the requirement is to create enterprises and organizations, which are diverse in scale, direction of activity, and internal organization, but alway in such a way that they are capable of developing independently, of being engaged in business activities on their own, and reacting flexibly to the demands both of domestic and foreign customers.

This is how the government and its bodies intend to proceed in the months ahead in not an easy decision-making full of conflict about the future organizational structure of the Czechoslovak economy. The effectiveness of restructuring and the future of the effective development of the Czechoslovak economy depend to a decisive degree on how successful we are in transforming this basic management link, i.e. the state enterprise, into a truly entrepreneurial subject.

For the preparatory period of the restructuring, that is for the period 1988-90, the government has adopted a program of concrete measures. In drawing it up it proceeded from the premise that there must be a mutually linked and coordinated complex of prerequisites of the restructuring of the economic mechanism. We regard the tackling of problems connected with the restoration of both the internal and external economic balance by way of adhering to the principal intentions of the Eighth 5-Year Plan both at the statewide level and in individual enterprises is crucial. It is the task of all management bodies to make use of the new factors of the economic mechanism as well as of the experiences of the experimental enterprises and to apply them to the broadest extent in safeguarding the implementation of the tasks set for the remaining years of the current 5-year plan.

In this connection the government places emphasis on ensuring that the expenditure in all areas of production and nonproduction sectors is appropriate and that financial and credit resources are used purposefully. The ministry of finance and the state bank must be much more thorough in these areas and in these aspects and must observe strictly party and government directives and they must not simply give in to unjustified demands.

With the aim of reinforcing trends toward achieving an equilibrium we have restricted this year the scale of new construction projects against the tasks set out in the Eighth 5-Year Plan, of course, without reducing resources allocated for effective modernization undertakings, effective target programs, undertakings securing the fulfillment of international obligations, and the ecological program. At the same time we have given instructions that construction projects included in the state plan can only be started if provisions have been made to reduce the timetable of construction by at least 20 percent.

The restoration of the economic equilibrium is the basic prerequisite of the effectiveness of the economic reform. In this respect the federal government and its individual members must further think through many issues and find concrete solutions. One cannot live off one's assets or off our future, and we do not want this either. Work is going on currently on the comprehensive project of the economic and organizational restructuring of the entire nonproduction sphere. Thousands of various organizations and institutions, where a rational system of management must also be introduced, are involved.

The preparatory period of the initial stage of the full application of the new economic mechanism will be enormously complicated and full of contradictions. We shall have to overcome habits ingrained over a period of many years, and the inertia of old thinking; we shall proceed in the face of deeply rooted egalitarian attitudes and erroneous interests. As Comrade Milos Jakes said at the ninth session: The complexity of the stage which we are entering is given by the fact that obsolete mechanisms have ceased to work while the new ones are only beginning to to be applied.

To manage and work in such conditions and to fulfill tasks set in the current 5-year-plan and to prepare the new 5-year-plan will demand all the efforts and full personal commitment of leading officials. Ahead of us is a joint struggle against wait-and-see attitudes and in more than one instance against despondency and moaning. We must be conscious of a number of pitfalls which will emerge in economic relations among organizations. The increased independence of state enterprises will also lead in certain instances to changes in their production programs. It will be necessary to seek new, more effective ties between producers and their customers and methods of supply and transportation. In some instances various dislocations may occur and we shall have to react to them promptly. It will also be necessary in certain instances and in certain localities to change the structure of employment.

The more demanding conditions embodied in the plan, in the normative material incentives, and in the strict financial, and in particular credit policy will lead to financial difficulties in some enterprises. This will all result in conflict situations. It is also necessary to reckon with the fact that there will also be attempts by central authorities to work and manage enterprises in the old manner and this, too, will apparently not be without conflicts.

Even the smallest work collectives such as workshops, centers, and teams will not avoid problems and conflicts. A thorough system of financial autonomy within individual enterprises, increased independence, and accountability of such bodies will lead to a marked effect on the quality of work and the working morale of each individual. No one can be indifferent to the results of the activity of others. No one will want to contribute by his own work to the living standard of slackers. While

having due regard to possible social impacts it is not possible to give an inch in this course, in the interest of the future development of the country, in the interest of the growth of the living standard of our people. [end recording]

Federal Prime Minister Lubomir Strougal then went on to talk about the legislative program for the coming years so that we would enter 1991 with a comprehensive set of legal regulations embodying in a final form the results of the economic reform. He also devoted attention to improving cooperation between the government and National Front bodies, deepening socialist democracy, and winning over and unifying the broadest strata of the population for the implementation of the program of restructuring.

Concluding his speech, the federal prime minister devoted himself to our foreign policy.

[Begin Strougal recording] Comrade deputies, in the government's policy statement in June 1986 we characterized the then international political situation as complicated and dangerous. Today, after less then 2 years we can point at encouraging aspects and changes for the better. International tension has undoubtedly decreased. Trust among states and the political responsibility of leading representatives of a number of countries has increased. We can truly say that a new political thinking in international relations is being born. We all know the extensive diplomatic efforts, the numerous initiatives, and goodwill gestures the Soviet Union as well as other countries of the socialist community have been making in order to bring world out of impasse and to reduce the threat of a global nuclear conflict. We are aware that the key element of change rests in the creation of a new quality of relations and dialogue between the USSR and the United States. CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev has the personal credit for this state of affairs.

The signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Short-Range Nuclear Missiles is undoubtedly a historic act which opens the door to further talks, in particular about 50 percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons, a complete ban on chemical weapons, and the reduction of conventional weapons to the lowest possible level.

Socialist Czechoslovakia naturally has not stood apart from these events. We supported them in many declarations and in other foreign-policy moves. We signed the agreement between the USSR, the CSSR, and the GDR in December 1987 in which we agreed to accept the verification and inspection of measures in respect of the withdrawal of missiles from our territory. In addition, the fact that their withdrawal was completed even before the treaty was ratified, expressed the wish to not only approve the treaty but to have it observed thoroughly by all parties concerned.

We remain realists, however. We do not give in to pacifist moods. We remain vigilant toward imperialism. Therefore, we shall devote appropriate care to the reinforcement of security and defense ability of our country in harmony with the efforts of the allied states and in the spirit of the principles of military doctrine which were adopted at the session of the political consultative committee in Berlin in October 1987.

In our foreign political plans we paid particular attention to the implementation of the philosophy of a united European home: not only because intrinsically it is in accord with the principles of our policy but also because it is in harmony with the humanitarian ideals of our people, as verified by history. This is the aim of the recent Czechoslovak initiative that was declared in connection with the 40th anniversary of February on the creation of the zone of confidence and good-neighborly relations between countries on the line of contact of the states of Warsaw Pact and NATO. This proposal includes at the same time all aspects of international security: political, military, economic, ecological, and humanitarian. We intend to continue this effort, to get involved in all talks on the reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons including the consultations of the 23 states of the Warsaw Pact and NATO in Vienna. Our joint proposals submitted with the GDR government to the FRG Government about a zone free of chemical weapons and a nuclear-free corridor are still, in our view, topical. We proceed here from the conviction that partial steps at regional talks could make a significant contribution to settling pressing issues of disarmament on a worldwide scale too.

As you know, Helmut Kohl, federal chancellor of our biggest Western neighbor, the FRG, was in Prague recently. We agreed during our talks on the further advancement of cooperation in various areas in the spirit of the policy of coexistence, in harmony with important economic and cultural traditions which were mutually active in the history of our peoples. At the same time we envisage the expansion of the program of cooperation with the Republic of Austria, whose Federal Chancellor is to come to Prague soon, and that we shall apply this policy constantly also in relations with other West European states. Czechoslovak diplomacy has also paid attention to our relations to developing countries, whose importance for settling world problems is constantly growing. A number of important talks are underway, in particular with friendly Arab countries and with other states in Africa and Asia. Our main effort recently has been to contribute at least in some small way to the process of national reconciliation in Afghanistan and Kampuchea, to settling conflict in Central America, in the Middle East, in the Persian Gulf, and in the south of Africa. From this viewpoint we direct also our fraternal help to national liberation movements and states which are exposed to imperialist aggression.

The development of relations with all socialist countries in the spirit of the restructuring and democratization that are underway has been, is, and will remain the

fundamental principle of the Czechoslovak foreign activity. Numerous meetings, consultations and working meetings with all Warsaw Pact countries have been held on these principles. This year's talks between Comrade Milos Jakes and the highest representatives of the fraternal parties represent an exceptional source of concrete suggestions for multiplying mutual cooperation. At the same time we wish to further develop broad contacts with the PRC.

Just as it was always in the past, our friendship, alliance and the development of all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union is of decisive importance for Czechoslovakia today, too. We are highly inspired and we shall be further influenced by the course of political and economic reforms, by the consolidation of the Leninist principles of people's power, by the process of democratization, glasnost, and spiritual renewal which is underway in the land of our major ally. It is reflected also into our mutual relations, which have never before been so broad, open, and inspiring. This has been confirmed mainly not only by the talks between the general secretaries of fraternal parties in January this year in Moscow, but also by the talks at the level of president of the Republic and prime minister.

Comrade deputies, the present time markedly raises the requirements and demands for high professionalism, fortitude, and the ability to fulfill the commitment of each link of the management—and this relates first and foremost to the federal government as the top executive body of the state.

Only with such an approach is it possible to successfully cope with the considerable tasks that the CSSR Government sets out in its program.

In conclusion, I would like to thank the Federal Assembly for its effective support on which the government could rely in the past, and voice confidence that this will be the case in future, too. [end recording]

Further Details of Speech

LD0405001788 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 3 May 88

[Excerpts] Here are highlights from the government's policy statement delivered by Federal Prime Minister Lubomir Strougal at a joint session of the both chambers of the Federal Assembly today: [passage omitted]

[Begin Strougal recording] Deputies have been informed about the content of social measures whose aim is to increase social assistance to pensioners, families with children, and young married couples. The government will fulfill its obligation adopted by the joint decision of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee, the government, the Central Trade Union Council, and the Socialist Union of Youth to prepare in the areas of pensions a system under which pensions will be adjusted on a regular basis to the growth of wages. Depending on the development of the economy and the possibilities of our society, this system will be prepared for implementation at the end of the current 5-year plan.

At the same time we envisage that, in the interest of the healthy development of the young generation, we shall prepare a concept of the state policy in relation to the family which is the basic cell of our social organism. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Axen Meets With Shultz at State Department

LD0305214888 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2026 GMT 3 May 88

[Text] Washington, 3 May (ADN)—U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz received today, at the U.S. State Department building, Hermann Axen, chairman of the GDR People's Chamber Foreign Affairs Committee, member of the Politburo, and secretary of the SED Central Committee.

The exchange of views centered on the expansion of bilateral relations between the GDR and the United States, and on questions of peace preservation, disarmament, and cooperation.

At the start of the talk, which proceeded in a businesslike and open atmosphere, Hermann Axen asked the U.S. secretary of state to convey greetings from GDR State Council Chairman Erich Honecker to U.S. President Ronald Reagan. Hermann Axen stated the GDR's readiness to constructively shape and rapidly develop bilateral relations.

The talk in the State Department was attended by Rozanne Ridgway, assistant secretary of state for European affairs; other senior staff of the State Department; Francis Meehan, U.S. ambassador to the GDR; Dr Gerhard Herder, the GDR ambassador to the United States; and public figures accompanying Hermann Axen.

Before the meeting with George Shultz, Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead hosted a working lunch in the rooms of the State Department in honor of Hermann Axen, which was attended by public figures of the two sides involved in the talks. During the lunch Hermann Axen underscored the GDR's lively interest in continuing the dialogue with the United States and giving it fresh impetus.

The same day Hermann Axen met Robert McNamara, the former secretary of state and the long-standing president of the World Bank, who has for years been working for the promotion of the process of detente and disarmament, a businesslike balance of interests between the two sides, and for an open exchange of ideas.

Hermann Axen conveyed cordial greetings from Erich Honecker to Dr Armand Hammer, the well-known U.S. industrialist and president of the Occidental Petroleum Corporation, who is celebrating his 90th birthday. The GDR guest acknowledged the commendable decades of work by the internationally respected businessman, for peace, free development of world trade, and promotion of humanitarian causes. Armand Hammer recalled his visit to the GDR with pleasure. He expressed the hope that the upcoming Soviet-U.S. meetings at a high and at the highest level will bring success.

Yesterday there was a meeting at the GDR ambassador's residence between Hermann Axen and leading representatives of scientific institutes and foreign policy research institutions. Among those represented were the Council on Foreign Relations, the periodical FOREIGN POLICY, the Brookings Institute, the Washington Institute for Political Studies, and the U.S. Institute for German Studies. Replying to questions from the participants in the talks, Hermann Axen explained the historical development of the GDR and its policy aimed at peace, security, and cooperation.

Ott Speaks at UN Disarmament Commission

LD0405111588 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0752 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] UN/New York, 4 May (ADN)—Every state, irrespective of its size, can and must make a contribution to the elimination of the danger of nuclear war, Harry Ott, GDR deputy foreign minister and permanent representative at the United Nations, said in New York on Tuesday to the UN Disarmament Commission. The international meeting for nuclear weapon-free zones, convened on the initiative of Erich Honecker, serves this aim. The creation of such zones and corridors is a further step toward nuclear disarmament and meets with increasing support worldwide, Ott said. At the upcoming conference in Berlin, experiences in creating nuclear weapon-free zones could be expounded and proposals for the development of such projects discussed.

The initiatives by the GDR and the CSSR toward freeing central Europe from nuclear and chemical weapons are directed at the promotion of the disarmament process, the GDR representative said. A nuclear weapons-free corridor in the heart of Europe would mean the removal of the tactical theater nuclear weapons from this sensitive area. A chemical weapon-free zone would not only be designed to increase international security but would also help to collect important experiences for negotiations on a convention banning chemical weapons. The proposal reiterated on 5 April by the SED, CPCZ, and SPD was aimed at this. The GDR government is prepared, ambassador Ott stressed, to immediately embark upon negotiations with the governments of the CSSR and the FRG on the liberation or keeping-free of the territories of the three states from chemical weapons.

Harry Ott called for a strengthening of the role of the United Nations in disarmament. In the run-up to the third UN special session on disarmament, beginning in a few weeks, a new impetus must be given to the multilateral disarmament mechanism.

Trade Union Meeting Held at Ruhr Festival

LD0305225888 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1835 GMT 3 May 88

[Excerpt] Recklinghausen 3 May (ADN)—The first ever participation by the FDGB in the Ruhr Festival and with it the beginning of the cultural exchange between the

FDGB and the DGB was an excellent opportunity to encourage the process of detente and peaceful relations between the two German states. This was emphasized by the deputy chairwoman of the FDGB National Executive Council, Johanna Toepfer, and the DGB chairman, Ernst Breit, today at a press conference in Recklinghausen.

Both trade union representatives welcomed the cultural exchange between the trade unions from the GDR and the FRG as a new and important step in the further development of relations between the FDGB and the DGB.

The press conference took place at the "Committed Leisure-Time Art—Artistic Creativities of the People in the GDR" exhibition, whose 470 exhibition works are one of the main attractions in the Ruhr festival.

Johanna Toepfer is taking part as head of an FDGB delegation in the opening of the Ruhr festival in Recklinghausen, in which for the first time a large contingent of people's artists from the GDR is taking part. [passage omitted]

Radiation Safety Accord Signed With Austria

LD0305211788 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1615 GMT 3 May 88

Vienna, 3 May (ADN)—A governmental agreement between the GDR and Austria on the exchange of information and experiences in the area of radiation protection was signed on Tuesday in Vienna. State Secretary Prof Georg Sitzlack, president of the GDR State Office for Nuclear Safety and Radiation Protection, and Dr Alois Mock, the vice chancellor and federal minister for foreign affairs of the republic of Austria, put their signatures to the document at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

The aim of the agreement is to further raise the protection already existing in both states of the population and the environment from the dangers of radiation, in order to be able to take preventive action in the case of a nuclear accident which has cross-border effects. In accordance with the international convention on the early notification of nuclear accidents, the agreement provides for immediate information on accidents with possible effects on the sovereign territory of the other state.

In addition, both sides will inform each other on results and methods as well as on the legal bases of the monitoring of radiation protection of people and the environment. They will also provide information on the nuclear establishments planned and existing in their own countries. The obligation to inform also extends to unusually high levels of radioactivity caused by third parties. In the face of the high concentration of nuclear establishments in Europe which are operating or under construction, the agreement is an important contribution to the creation of a regional system of preventive protection against the dangers of radiation.

Dr Mock declared at the signing that the agreement strengthens the excellent relations between the GDR and Austria and corresponds to the political will of both sides to work together more closely. The short time needed for its coming into existence was proof of this. In the context of the CSCE Final Act it served the deepening of security and cooperation in Europe. Prof Sitzlack declared that it corresponds to the policy of the GDR to raise the protection and security of the population by means of a network of treaties.

Mozambique Foreign Minister Continues Visit

Meets With Fischer

LD0305211288 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1605 GMT 3 May 88

[Excerpt] Berlin 3 May (ADN)—The Foreign Ministers of the GDR and the People's Republic of Mozambique, Oskar Fischer and Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi, commenced their official talks this afternoon in Berlin. They discussed basic questions of the international situation and exchanged views on the further shaping of friendly relations between the two countries.

Earlier, the Mozambican politician honored the victims of fascism and militarism by laying a wreath at the Unter den Linden memorial. [passage omitted]

'Condemn' South Africa

LD0305211888 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1756 GMT 3 May 88

[Text] Berlin, 3 May (ADN)—In Berlin on Tuesday, the foreign ministers of the GDR and Mozambique, Oskar Fischer and Pascoal Manual Mocumbi, condemned the escalation of violence and terror by the apartheid regime in South Africa and its aggression against independent states in the region. The politicians said at the start of their official talks that peace and security in southern Africa, an end to military intervention by South African troops in Angola, and the unconditional implementation of UN decisions on the independence of Namibia were necessary.

The people of Mozambique devoted all their strength to successfully conducting the struggle, imposed on them from outside, against counterrevolutionary banditry, linking it with the economic construction of the country, said Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi. The foreign minister praised the GDR's effective and peaceful aid to his country in this connection. Oskar Fischer underlined that the GDR would continue in the future to support

the frontline states in defense of their national independence and sovereignty. It regarded the efforts of the frontline states to strengthen collective cooperation as an important precondition for the settlement of conflicts in southern Africa.

Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi arrived in the GDR early this afternoon for a 3-day official visit. The two foreign ministers will continue their talks on Wednesday.

Attend Dinner

LD0305212888 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1933 GMT 3 May 88

[Text] Berlin, 3 May (ADN)—Cooperation between the GDR and Mozambique has been marked by deep understanding and has produced good results. This was stated by the foreign ministers of the two states, Oskar Fischer and Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi, in Berlin on Tuesday evening at a dinner given by the GDR politician in honor of his guest. The two foreign ministers started their official talks the same day.

In his toast, Oskar Fischer underlined that the signing of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range nuclear missiles brought proof for the first time in the nuclear age that given goodwill on both sides, the dangerously overflowing nuclear missile arsenals can be reduced. Reason dictated that progress should be made from one zero option to another, and that further armament should not be supported. The minister referred to the GDR proposals for the creation of nuclear- and chemical weapons-free zones in central Europe and its policy of dialogue, which is aimed at the promotion of trust and coperation. In connection with stimulating the processes of disarmament and detente, the GDR placed high hopes on the international meeting on nuclear weapons-free zones in Berlin in June.

Oskar Fischer stated that the GDR strongly condemned the escalation of violence and terror by the racist regime in South Africa, which was accompanied by permanent actions of aggression and intervention against the region's independent states. As in the past, the peoples of southern Africa could continue in the future to rely on the GDR's solidarity and support in their struggle for the establishment of peaceful conditions for development.

In his reply, Foreign Minister Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi praised the GDR's increasing aid for the Mozambican people in their struggle against underdevelopment and armed banditry. South Africa was conducting an undeclared war against Mozambique in order to destablize the country. In this situation, the Frelimo Party and the state linked the struggle against banditry with economic revival and reconstruction of the infrastructure. Although the country still had a long road ahead, the results achieved so far were encouraging, the minister said.

He welcomed the Washington agreement and expressed the hope that the next summit meeting would make possible new steps leading to complete disarmament and eliminating the danger of war. Mozambique supported all peace initiatives and welcomed the GDR's active support for the establishment of a nuclear weapons-free corridor in Europe and for the continental and worldwide elimination of all nuclear weapons.

Meets With Honecker

LD0405130788 East Berlin ADN International Servicce in German 1027 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Berlin, 4 May (ADN)—The general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, Erich Honecker, received on Wednesday the minister for foreign affairs of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi, member and secretary of the Frelimo Party Central Committee.

The Mozambican guest, who is in the GDR on an official visit, conveyed a personal message from the president of the Frelimo Party and president of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Joaquim Alberto Chissano, and conveyed his warm greetings, which were reciprocated by Erich Honecker. During the talks, which took place in the spirit of the traditional friendly links between the GDR and the People's Republic of Mozambique, Erich Honecker and Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi were in agreement in estimating that the friendly relations between both states and peoples have developed stably on the basis of the treaty on friendship and cooperation. They praised the high level of relations between the SED and the Frelimo Party and affirmed the intention to further expand this cooperation.

The partners in the talks agreed that a change for the better is beginning to emerge in the international situation. This is encouraging to all forces who are working to avert a nuclear inferno, to stabilize peace permanently, and to make the principles of peaceful coexistence the norm for relations between states with differing social orders.

Erich Honecker valued highly in this connection the intensive efforts of the nonaligned movement and the Organization of African Unity for peace and security in the world. He explained the complex peace program of the Warsaw Pact states and briefed the guest on the GDR's contribution to lessening the danger of war.

Minister Mocumbi greeted the initiative from Erich Honecker in calling the International Meeting for the Creation of Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones in June 1988 in Berlin and assured there would be high-ranking participation from Mozambique.

Both politicians agreed that southern Africa belongs to the seats of conflict in the world from which threats to regional and world peace continuously emanate. They

established that the tensions in this region are based in the system of apartheid. They condemned categorically the policy of destabilization and agression pursued by South Africa toward the independent neighboring states.

Minister Mocumbi briefed Erich Honecker on the preparations for the Frelimo Party's fifth party congress, which will take place in 1989. He reported on the efforts of the Frelimo Party and the Mozambican people to defend themselves against the activities of the armed bands maintained by South Africa, and to resuscitate the country's economy. Mozambique's foreign minister praised the GDR's active peace policy and expressed his thanks for the extensive solidarity and support constantly shown toward his country.

Erich Honecker gave the assurance that the GDR will continue to stand firmly at the side of the Mozambican people in their struggle for the consolidation of its national independence and in the securing of peace in southern Africa.

Taking part in the talks were GDR foreign affairs minister Oskar Fischer and the ambassadors extraordinary and plenipotentiary of both countries, Julio Goncalo Braga and Prof Dr Helmut Matthes.

Honecker Greets World Health Organization

AU0505090888 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3 May 88 p 2

["ND" report: "Congratulations on the 40th Anniversary of the WHO; Erich Honecker to World Health Assembly President in Geneva"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the WHO, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, has sent the following greetings message to the president of the 41st World Health Assembly which started on Monday [2 May] in Geneva:

Esteemed Mr President,

I convey to you the GDR's most cordial congratulations on the 40th anniversary of the founding of the WHO.

The WHO, as the leading and coordinating UN special organization in the international health sector, has set itself the deeply humanist goal of promoting all activities that will help to achieve the best possible state of health for all people, independently of race, religion, political conviction, and economic and social status.

In general, it is increasingly recognized that the struggle for health, against disease and avoidable death, can only be successfully carried on in a world of peace, disarmament, international cooperation, and political and social equality. Therefore 40 years of the WHO mean 40 years of collective interstate efforts to implement these targets and tasks, which are also laid down in the constitution.

I state with great satisfaction that, since it became a member, the GDR has participated in the WHO's great achievements for life and health in an efficient and versatile way and has received due thanks and recognition for this. For example, the main health strategies of the WHO correspond to important guidelines of the health policy of our socialist state to further perfect the protection of the population's health.

In the GDR, as a socialist state, economic and social policy are regarded as inseparable and it is on this basis that our national health concept is also implemented. It is consistently based on the responsibility of society and state for the promotion, preservation, and restoration of the health of all citizens.

The WHO's activities in the past 4 decades have been characterized by very important successes in the struggle against dangerous infectious diseases and noninfectious diseases affecting the health of millions of people. At the same time, mankind, and thus the WHO, is permanently confronted with new challenges, for example AIDS, which can only be fought by global efforts of the international community under the leadership and with the coordination of the WHO.

All the WHO's activities were and are a convincing example of the complexity of man and the interdependence of all peoples in the search for solutions to the global problems of our time. Among them, the preservation of world peace to prevent a nuclear inferno is the decisive prerequisite for overcoming hunger, illness, underdevelopment, ignorance, and solving environmental questions.

In the future, too, the GDR will contribute to developing this necessary condition, which is decisive for the people's lives and health, by its consistent peace policy, and it will convincingly express this, not least by its health policy, which is oriented toward life and a peaceful future.

Permit me to express the wish that the WHO's anniversary year 1988 will be characterized by further successes in the struggle for life and health, as well as by a new impetus to the international cooperation of the states within the framework of the WHO and by further joint successes in securing world peace.

Yours sincerely,

E. Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council

Mexico Supports Weapons-Free Zones Effort

LD021748 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1554 GMT 2 May 88

[Text] Berlin, 2 May (ADN)—President Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado of Mexico sent a letter to Erich Honecker announcing his support for the holding of the international meeting for nuclear weapons-free zones in Berlin from 20 to 22 June.

De la Madrid thanked the SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR Council of State chairman for his government's invitation to the meeting. In this context he agreed unreservedly with Honecker's assessment that the current historical moment required extra steps to secure the path to general and complete disarmament.

"Specific agreements between the two superpowers, in the area of nuclear disarmament, on a significant reduction in their strategic potentials or on banning nuclear weapons tests would be significant steps in this direction, just like the increase in nuclear weapons-free zones," the letter says.

De la Madrid points out that, as the main initiator of the first densely populated nuclear weapons-free zone, Mexico thinks the creation of further zones represents the most important way to general and complete disarmament under effective international control. As a large part of conventional and nuclear arms in the world is concentrated in Europe, Erich Honecker's initiative is of great significance for achieving the goal of liberating the world from nuclear weapons.

Mexico's president welcomed the idea of holding talks in various commissions on the issues to be dealt with at the conference. "In this context I would consider it interesting if one of the issues to be discussed were related to the cooperation or help that the Organization for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (OPANAL) might offer in creating or constituting a zone, and regarding the activities of similar bodies dealing with verifying compliance with the obligations arising from the status of nuclear weapons-free zones," the letter continues.

President de la Madrid informed the GDR Council of State chairman that the Mexican Government accepts the invitation to participate in the meeting and will take it up.

Emigration Applicants Released After May Day

LD0505080088 Hamburg DPA in German 1038 GMT 4 May 88

[Excerpts] East Berlin (DPA)—Several conscientious objectors in the GDR were released on Monday, according to informed church circles. They are 15 young men who wanted to emigrate, it was said today in East Berlin. They were supposed to have been called up for basic military service. Inquiries into their disregard of the call-up order have been stopped in the meantime.

The arrests in East Berlin, and in the Halle and Dresden areas, were apparently part of the deterrent strategy of the authorities in preparation for 1 May, to prevent actions on the fringes of the official May Day rallies by those wanting to emigrate. [passage omitted]

Those arrested are, according to what has been said, predominantly in their mid-twenties. They still could have been called upon for the full military service of 18 months. An unknown number of young men who have applied to emigrate have been prepared for noncombat service in the Army's construction units, according to informed circles. There is no civilian substitute for military service in the GDR.

Harry Tisch Speaks at Berlin May Day Rally

DW011010 East Berlin Television Service in German 0700 GMT 1 May 88

[Speech by Harry Tisch, SED Central Committee Politburo member and FDGB National Executive Council chairman, at a May Day rally on East Berlin's Karl-Marx-Allee—live—no video available]

[Text] Dear people of Berlin, dear friends and comrades, dear foreign guests: Again the traditional international combat day of the working class, the eternally young May Day, calls us to a common great manifestation of will. On this day we express our determination consistently to continue the struggle for our people's life interests in peace and socialism by successfully implementing the resolutions adopted by the 11th SED Congress.

It is in the spirit of this common intention that I convey to you, dear people of Berlin, the most cordial greetings of the SED Central Committee, the FDGB National Executive Board, and the National Front National Council on May Day 1988. [applause]

May Day 1988 is marked by our people's great creative work in the decisive year of this 5-year plan. With high performance in socialist competition for the fulfillment of this year's plan targets, we strive for progress in the successful course of the unity of economic and social policy to further shape the advanced socialist society.

We cordially thank all those who by their work and initiatives have actively striven for the common cause—to strengthen our socialist fatherland. [applause] We thank the workers, cooperative peasants, and members of the scientific, technological, and artistic intelligentsia. We thank the young people who, considering our GDR's forthcoming 40th founding anniversary, struggle for high goals in the GDR 40 FDJ drive. We also thank those who actively fulfill their duties as citizens in the National People's Army, the border troops, and the defense and security organs.

Dear friends and comrades, our work and aspirations are and continue to be aimed at meeting the demands that we all make on socialism. They have always been primarily demands on the productiveness of our work. It is now, more than ever before, characterized by the increasing application and effective utilization of key technologies in cities and villages. In that way, dear friends, we intend lastingly to guarantee economic

growth, a new quality of growth for the people's well-being. That reflects our constitutional principle—participate in planning, participate in work, participate in government—as stated by our Comrade Erich Honecker at the meeting of SED kreis secretaries. We will implement that together with all our citizens on the basis of a trusting relationship. That law of life of our socialist demoracy makes room for everyone to perform great deeds.

Dear people of Berlin: In the process of building and modernizing throughout the country, new values have also been created in our Berlin again. We take pleasure in the new things that have been built in our capital to all the citizens' benefit. We are continuing our large housing construction program and are on course toward our goal of solving the housing problem as a social problem.

Life shows that we are not leaving the term success out of our vocabulary, and that we always convert economic progress into social progress.

Dear comrades and friends: Many millions of people in the capitalist world have had the bitter and painful experience that without work and without full employment, freedom and human dignity remain empty words. The FRG trade union association says in its May Day appeal that unemployment leads to poverty and social isolation for millions and deprives the people of their future. When the DGB, in connection with the continuation of the disarmament process, urges the redistribution of weapons expenditures to establish social and free structures, we can say with satisfaction and pride that by converting the facilities of the Waren missile base, which was cleared ahead of schedule, into an FDGB recreation home, we have demonstrated convincingly how disarmament results are used for the people's benefit in our country. [applause] Disarmament results immediately become part of our efforts to continue to shape our socialist republic as the home of peace and freedom, democracy, and human rights.

Dear friends and comrades, we energetically support the Soviet Union's far-reaching disarmament initiatives, so that following the agreement to eliminate intermediate-range missiles we can proceed from zero solution to zero solution to reduce the numbers of weapons. We advocate creation of nuclear- and chemical weapons-free zones that should include the two German states. The cruel means of mass destruction must disappear from our globe.

In the struggle to continue the disarmament process, the connection between strong socialism and secure peace continues to guide us. In that respect the good phrase about my work place being my place of struggle for peace continues to apply unchanged.

Dear people of Berlin, on this May Day we confirm our indissoluble fraternal relationship with the country of Lenin and the CPSU. [applause] We greet the working people in all countries building socialism. We feel tied with all those who struggle for peace and democracy and are against social cutbacks and unemployment. Our anti-imperialist solidarity is with the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, the freedom struggle of the Nicaraguan people, the struggle of the Palestinian people, and the struggle of the peoples in Southern Africa against the racist apartheid policy.

At this May Day rally we urge revocation of the death sentence against the Sharpeville Six and freedom for all patriots of South Africa. [applause]

Long live our socialist German Democratic Republic!

May all our efforts serve the purpose of implementing the decisions made at the SED'S 11th Party Congress!

Long live the international working class and proletarian internationalism!

Long live 1 May 1988.

Marothy Speaks at Szeghalom May Day Festivities

AU0405083388 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 2 May 88 p 3

[Unattributed report on speech by MSZMP Politburo member Laszlo Marothy, minister of Environmental Protection and Water Management, at May Day rally in Szeghalom: "Determination in Safeguarding Our Values"]

[Text] Laszlo Marothy, National Assembly deputy representing Bekes Megye, greeted the people gathered in the central square of Szeghalom, a small town of 11,000 inhabitants which is currently undergoing industrialization, and praised the importance of May Day.

In his introduction Laszlo Marothy, a son of this town, recalled the atmosphere of past May Day festivities in Szeghalom and the features of this pleasant holiday that are eternal and those that change. He said that renewal, signified by the decorated maypoles all over the country, and the universal human appreciation for work and performance are the eternal features of this holiday. At the same time, each May Day has its own unique characteristics which are derived from everyday tasks. Thus, each May Day is different from every other one. May Day this year is not like May Day last year, and most probably not like next year's May Day.

All that characterizes this May Day naturally derives from our current situation, from the problems we are now facing, and from the situation in the country today. This year's festivities are neither free of problems nor without prospects; responsibility for our future, determination in our readiness to act, and our confidence in success are the basic characteristics of this year's festivities.

In addition to all these, another eternal value for us is indispensably connected with work and with May Day, namely the concept of and the desire for peace. It is becoming generally recognized in the world that we depend on one another, and this feeling of dependence has recently spread to environmental protection. It has become increasingly obvious to mankind that even without war we can destroy our environment, and with it destroy human life.

Then, Laszlo Marothy spoke about Hungary's domestic situation and the passionate debates on the question of where we go from here. He said that indeed the entire country is currently engaged in politics, and a similar common action must emerge from this process of common thinking that leads to so many opinions and proposals. Marothy stressed that the essential thing is to get hold of the things that are decisive. The first among these is the restructuring of the economy and production, and this is a task for the years ahead. The other very important task is connected with the party. The communists have had to realize that the people have lost confidence in the party that, in 1957, relying precisely on the masses, achieved such great results in only a few decades.

The party has the will and strength to restore the confidence of the people. There is tremendous latent energy in various communities, and we should let this energy come to the fore. We must also face the issue of responsibility. Our people are right in demanding to know exactly who is responsible for our difficult situation, and to what extent. Debates, no doubt, will continue, but now we primarily need firm action.

In conclusion, Laszlo Marothy spoke about the relationship between the values we hold and the changes. This nation has created great values; we are considering all these values and do not allow anyone to undermine them. But that cannot mean that change is impossible. We must be just as determined in defending our values as in demanding changes, because nowadays this is the major task of socialist construction. For some 20 years now the MSZMP has taken upon itself the task of renewing socialism. We must continue along this road, Laszlo Marothy said in conclusion.

Szuros Speaks in Kunhegyes

AU0405082488 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 2 May 88 p 3

[Unattributed report on speech by MSZMP Central Committee Secretary Matyas Szuros at the May Day festivities in Kunhegyes: "To Be Hungarian Means a Common Destiny"]

[Text] Matyas Szuros spoke at the central square of Kunhegyes, which was decorated with flags and flowers, and unveiled a memorial commemorating the settlement of the Cumanians [early nomadic Turkish people].

As he stressed in his introduction, this year's May Day is a particularly important holiday for the inhabitants of 700-year-old Kunhegyes and for the entire region. It is a special holiday, first because each year on 1 May, we celebrate the eternal renewal of nature; second, this day is the day of creative man's work; and third, this year on this very day, which is perhaps the most suitable one, we unveil this memorial with which the community of this village and the population of the entire region of Nagykunsag honor the memory of their worker predecessors.

Matyas Szuros said that the Cumanian memorial speaks for itself and is unique: It provides a lasting memory of the former population of this characteristically historical Hungarian region, a population that continues to live through us. The main body of the memorial—a warrior aiming his bow from his horse—honors the memory of the Cumanian warriors who were always ready to sacrifice their blood and life if their chosen homeland

required it. At the same time, the memorial reminds us of the infinity of time, the time we have been together, and the centuries still ahead of us.

Matyas Szuros stressed that at the time the assimilation here was voluntary. It was not a crude and forced assimilation. Our predecessors are free of even the shadow of suspicion in this respect, because the national concept as it is understood in the world today did not even exist at that time.

Historical circumstances made it inevitable for the Cumanians to assimilate. The need for renewal at the time meant that, just like the Hungarians during the conquest of the homeland, the Cumanians would have been threatened by physical extinction in this part of Europe if they had maintained their nomadic lifestyle, their adventurous style, and their pagan faith.

Today, after almost 700 years, Matyas Szuros said, such circumstances no longer apply in these regions of our continent. On the contrary: The real need is to preserve national identity. The question today is no longer whether one is Hungarian or Cumanian, but whether the dual Cumanian and Hungarian commitment contributes to the real prosperity of the community of this Carpathian region of mixed nationalities in both the narrow and wide sense.

Efforts at forced assimilation are brutal violations of human rights and an inexcusable crime against universality made up of plurality. There is another lesson to be drawn from the assimilation of the Cumanians, a lesson that is valid to this day: The fate of this nation also justifies the concept of Gyula Illyes [Hungarian writer] according to which to be Hungarian means to accept a common destiny rather than blood relationship. Nothing can better express the convincing power of the Cumanians voluntary assimilation into the Hungarian nation than the fact that the general public considers the people of the Kunsag area as typically Hungarian. We have no reason to reject this opinion.

Matyas Szuros then spoke about the deep patriotism and integrity that characterize the people in this area. These characteristics are closely knit with the loyalty to their immediate homeland, the Nagykunsag region. Fortunately, no jealousy or suspicion of nationalism can be found in this patriotism. There is clean water in this well. It is a universal truth that well-recognized and clearly understood national particularities contribute to the spirit of internationalism and to the cause of friendship between nations.

Spokesman Briefs Press on Ministers Meeting

LD0405205688 Budapest MTI in English
2015 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Budapest, May 4 (MTI) — Following the Wednesday session of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, Government Spokesman Rezso Banyasz told a press conference:

The government discussed the planned reform of the central budget and its expectable effects. The budget-related rights and duties of Parliament, the Council of Ministers and the minister of finance should be redefined. Depending on progress in work, the National Assembly is to be informed on the principal governmental ideas next autumn but it will probably take a year to put forward the main legal provisions to Parliament.

Eventual Changes in General Value-Added Taxation: [subhead]

The government firmly rejects all proposals that create an opportunity for loosening the taxation adopted four months ago. In the recent period the government was also asked to grant exemptions from taxation for various grounds. The government holds the view that such exemptions would unfavourably influence the investment market and the central budget. In keeping with its work plan, the government is soon to survey the experience gained so far in the taxation system.

Housing Construction:[subhead]

In the first two months of the year the construction of 6,700 homes started from private sources which was 40 per cent more than in the same period of last year. The growth may be attributed, beside the mild weather, to the more favourable terms of crediting and social-welfare support introduced in January. The number of loans granted for homebuilding went up by 50 per cent.

Vienna-Budapest World Exhibition: [subhead]

The topic will be discussed in Vienna on May 9. There are several applicants for organizing the World Expo but the Paris-based international exhibition bureau has not yet made a choice.

Treasury Bills, Stocks of Savings Deposits:[subhead]

By late April almost 2,000 million forints worth of treasury bills were sold. The bills were issued by the Ministry of Finance on March 21 with expiries of three, six and nine months. The 9-month bills, which yield an interest of 10 per cent, are the most popular. On March 31 the stock of savings deposits was 286,900 million rorints, 339 million more than three months before (calculated without the credited interests).

Kisz CC Leader Interviewed

LD302244 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian
1400 GMT 30 Apr 88

[Interview with KISZ Central Committee First Secretary Csaba Hamori by Akos Mester on the "168 Hours" program in the studio—live]

[Text] [Announcer] The KISZ Central Committee held a session yesterday. On the agenda were the youth league's proposals on housing policy, its theses for the party

conference, and the experiences in the debate "What Kind of Socialism Should We Build." The guest on "168 Hours" is Csaba Hamori, first secretary of the KISZ Central Committee and member of the MSZMP Politburo. Akos Mester speaks with him in the studio.

[Mester] First, I thank you for accepting our invitation and for spending your Saturday afternoon with us. It was an extraordinary expanded session, which is quite an unusual thing, is that not so? Why was this necessary?

[Hamori] It was expanded, but not extraordinary. We quite frequently meet: Every 6 weeks, every 2 months. Expanded means that apart from the usual 105 Central Committee members, it was attended by 4 people per county and by 10 delegates from each layer [reteg] council of the Central Committee. Therefore, there a total of about 300 people there.

The reason for its expansion was simply the importance of the topics which were discussed, that is, our comprehensive concept of housing management, which so far has elicited quite a few mixed reactions from society. The review and summarizing of this was featured, as well as a review of the debate series "What Socialism Should We Build," as well as a shaping of what we are to say at the party conference.

[Mester] I would like us to remain on this second topic. You have said that the younger half of the nation is the most critical observer of Hungarian society nowadays. Does this follow as a matter of course from being young or rather from their dispiriting experiences, let us say, that the young people notice that there are social processes working against the youth?

[Hamori] Both factors play a role. First, they encounter ideals and models which they are taught in school, and then they encounter practices which conflict or differ considerably from this. Second, young people, let us say those in their twenties, are able to look back a few years, and they perceive that their lives are starting with greater difficulty compared to their elders. Let me add: Greater tolerance is necessary on the part of today's adults vis-a-vis today's youth.

My age group, those who are approaching their forties—also those who are between 40 and 50—came across the practice of socialism with ideas about socialism at a different period than today's young people. At the beginning of the sixties I became familiar with a socialism which was a political system which was growing stronger, augmenting itself and speaking for itself. Just think of the breakdown of the colonial system, the consolidation in Hungary, our domestic political reform period, the processes in the Soviet Union in the first half of the sixties. Now, compared to that, it can be said that the people of today open their eyes to the world in a more difficult period.

[Mester] Well, yes, but the issue here is not a generation problem, since you also have said that a separate answer by youth cannot be given to the country's current problems because here—and it is your expression—the frontline, the main frontline, at present is not drawn primarily between the generations. However, you still owe us a supplement to this: If not there, then where is the main frontline drawn?

[Hamori] I am able to word it in only a very concise manner. The main frontline is drawn between those who accept the performance principle [payment in accordance with work done] and those who sabotage the performance principle. This sabotage is not necessarily a conscious act. However, we know that the force of custom and the defense of existing interests are the greatest force in a society.

[Mester] What do those people who sabotage the performance principle prefer? What are they in favor of, what do they give priority to?

[Hamori] Survival, a defense of the current things in opposition to thinking which is oriented to the future.

[Mester] If that is so, you are saying nothing other than—excuse me, I am trying to put my thoughts in maxims—than yes, socialist conservatives—this is Gorbachev's expression—exist in our country, too. Possibly, precisely they are the most intense opponents to the endeavors of reform.

[Hamori] There are many of them, and neither is it easy to demonstrate who they are. This can only be ascertained from the debate of concrete affairs. By the war, I myself am cautious of the over-use of and the general use of the expression reform, because I have the feeling that many people use it as merely an empty phrase. However, I feel very much the resistance to the necessary changes in many spheres of our life.

[Mester] Yes, although allow me to add that the word change is slowly becoming empty, too because constant urging that changes are necessary reassures people. If we say it so often, then it will come about, to be sure. However, these will not come about on their own, and neither is the pace of their coming about, if they do come about, a matter of indifference. If they come about too slowly, the matter could become, after all, a generation problem because today's adults simply would hand on the problems of the present to the generation that follows it.

[Hamori] I agree with that. I am of the opinion that there is no generation problem yet in Hungary, but there could be in the near future. A natural bearer of this could be the large group of age categories which will start work at the beginning of the decade of the nineties. This would magnify the conflicts that exist now, but that in most cases are dormant, assuming we do not find a suitable means of handling this.

[Mester] With whom, together with whom?

[Hamori] A manner of handling this?

[Mester] Yes.

[Hamori] It is not possible to work and operate, conduct a sort of partisan struggle in our society, in isolation. I add that fortunately, this is not possible. Here, therefore, all forces that accept responsibility for the youth must seek allies.

[Mester] Yes. Only when I posed the question just now, I myself did not think to who, in point of fact, should I address the question? The first secretary of the KISZ Central Committee, or the member of the party Politburo? If I think this over, thusly, and I ask you of whom you are thinking, with whom, I feel all the more justified in asking you this question. Or, I do not want to force you into a kind of political schizophrenia, but you also must think over whether the party designates the place and role of KISZ in society, or whether the KISZ itself has a concept of this?

[Hamori] Both are true. I do not live in a state of split-consciousness, although I do not deny that I live tensely.

Returning to the last part of the question, the KISZ, as the political force of today's sole organization of youth, has the right and possibility to seek its place amid changing political conditions, as well. The framework invariably is determined by the party, but according to my experience, the framework is scarcely too rigid for changing it to be impossible or unnecessary.

[Mester] Allow me to ask the question directly. Can the KISZ have a different conception of its role than what the party desires?

[Hamori] It can, of course it can. There is such a thing in very many spheres, which is shown by concrete debates between given KISZ organizations and party organizations. Our wording is that the party needs, in connection with KISZ, the closest strategic cooperation and alliance relationship. This is also the interest of the party. This does not mean a leading by the hand, with tagging on a short leash—as, unfortunately, practice shows in many places —but a relationship of alliance, a recognized relationshop of alliance. My wording last week at the session of the County Fejer Party Committee was that the KISZ is the ally of the party, and it should not be its vassal.

[Mester] I do not know whether I understand you well. In truth, we are still at the point of good theory which is acceptable to both sides; practice does not yet follow this. Do I understand this well?

[Hamori] Practice does not yet follow it at most places but (?there are) outstanding examples.

[Mester] Thank you. Dear listeners, I encourage you to ask questions, we shall gladly pass them on to Csaba Hamori, first secretary of the KISZ Central Committee and member of the Politburo.

[Mester] Well, we are getting questions from listeners now. Miklos Abacsics, telephone number 373-659, who found it necessary to add that he is 66, interprets the housing concept of the Communist Youth League to mean that it would involve an increase in rents, so as to provide the financial basis for it. He asks: Is it once again the older generation who has to pay for everything?

[Hamori] No, at least this is not how we envisage the matter. Our view is that the present system of housing management has become outdated and in a year or two will definitely be out of date, and we believe that it is necessary to construct a new system. The construction of this new system in its final form can be envisaged only in 5, perhaps 10 years, but if we do not want to carry out the tasks of housing management in accordance with a new concept, then we only continue to carry the burden of the present-day problems.

An increase in rents is one of the consequences of our concept, but it would not take place in an evenly distributed manner. I could put this by saying that it would increase the burdens of only a small proportion of those currently living in rented housing. Admittedly, for these people the increase would be considerable; for the large majority, however, the burden would remain the same.

[Mester] I think it would be better to publish this whole housing concept in the newspapers; in a verbal form it is very difficlut to follow its ins and outs. I have dealt with this matter on television as well. I got the impression that people do not fully understand the concept and consequently do not know how to argue about it.

[Hamori] I can point to two very valuable products of the debates which we have conducted inside the Communist Youth League. One of these is that large masses of young people, at least 100,000 people, have come to realize that this is a very complex issue, that it is impossible to conquer this sphere of society simply, with a cavalry charge so to speak, that it is impossible to improve the housing situation without changing existing relations and interests. This requires tolerance on the part of young and old alike. Thus, the first result of this concept is that we have made many people realize that there are many different interests in this area and that these interests clash when it comes to housing.

[Mester] Excuse me, I would like to get away from the question of housing, but would like to stay with the question of interests and the problem of tolerance. You like to quote Lenin on the future belonging to those who have youth on their side, and that if we do not win them over, that is, the young people, then they will turn to someone else. Thus, the question follows quite naturally: In your opinion, whose side is youth on now? Secondly,

if young people have no alternative youth organization, then they have no scope for turning to someone else. Now, if this is so, this also means that young people either will not seek a community or, if they do, then lacking legitimation, these communities could easily become the subject of suspicion.

[Hamori] As to the first question, whose side youth is on, the fact is that youth is very diverse and has more than one master, even in the present. There are massive illusions in the adult generation in this context. Yet the young people almost faithfully reflect the contradictions of the adult generation. Thus, I think that youth will not be homogeneous in the future either, in either the political or financial sense, nor with regard to ideology. By the way, those young people who are interested in politics at the present time envisage their future within a socialist framework, though they envisage that socialism as considerably different from today's, as having undergone a considerable reform. This is something that I can state quite firmly: They think in terms of socialist frameworks. This is the situation today. Of course, this situation could deteriorate.

[Mester] Forgive me, but I find it very difficult to accept this reply.

[Hamori] Then let us argue about it.

[Mester] It is not that I want to argue with you, it just seems to me that you did not give a proper answer to the question as to whether young people have a chance to organize themselves outside the Communist Youth League.

[Hamori] Young people must observe the same rule, or the same legality, in Hungary that the adults do. Thus, there are three requirements that must be enforced with regard to organizations. The first is that the socialist system must be acknowledged as a framework. Second, the leading role of the party must be accepted. Third, the alliance relations of our country must be honored. Someone who keeps to thse three rules can organize. However, something becomes legitimate not when it states this about itself, but by accepting these points.

[Mester] I understand this, but someone who accepts these rules and wants to engage in politics and wants to belong to an organization can join the Communist Youth League.

[Hanori] No, he can organize something else.

[Mester] In that case, we ought to look at the differences. Why should someone who accepts these three rules want a different organization? He must have some reason to go elsewhere than the Communist Youth League, and presumably the reason is that the alternatives provided by the Communist Youth League are not those with which he wants to identify because it does not provide programs he likes.

[Hamori] It is obvious that the Communist Youth League cannot fulfill all the requirements of all young people. If it wanted to do this, it would be all things to all young people, and this is a role it cannot fulfill at the present time. Anyone who expects this is thinking in a mistaken fashion. Precisely for this reason, we—and not only we, this has been an expressly stated principle in the policy of the party for at least the last 4 years—have been in favor of the emergence of self-organized communities among young people. Many have come about, incidentally. The differentiation as to whether an organization is political or not is one that I think will disappear in the future. After all, every organization that wants to do something in its own environment to change the status quo will play a political role. This can be a matter of protecting the environment, or some cultural activity, or many other activities.

[Mester] I think that this can be accepted even as an answer to the next question, phoned in by Gyoergy Zabami, telephone no. 555-665, who asks: Will the Communist Youth League continue as the only monopoly organization for young people, or can other political youth organizations also come about? Do you consider that what you have said in fact answers this question as well?

[Hamori] Yes, within the framework set out earlier such an organization can come about.

[Mester] I think that recently we have been speaking perhaps more than enough about the system of political institutions. Up to now this system of political institutions has for all intents and purposes determined the place of the Communist Youth League in society. Is this not something that should be changed? Let us take it as our point of departure that the Communist Youth League has its own concept.

[Hamori] I think that in the near future the interconnections between the various organizations within the political structure, their cooperation and their debates, will have to be conducted in accordance with set rules. The current rules are not sufficient. We have already spoken quite a lot about the housing situation. There are also other great social issues facing us, from wage reform to the question of pensions, the preparations for the pensions reform. Our thinking in the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League is that every social organization, those existing currently and also those that are yet to come about, will be able to come forward with their own ideas, and these ideas will have to be confronted with each other through the forums and channels of publicity. Let the better idea—or, more precisely, the idea that can gain a bigger following—win.

[Mester] There is another question that has just occurred to me in connection with publicity. There is a great sense of expectation in the country at the present time in connection with the party conference which is to begin on 20 May, and one can hear very frequently political

leaders saying that this expectation is excessive, that it is unjustified. There are those who draw the conclusion that people who expect significant changes will be disappointed.

[Hamori] This is not my view of the matter. In my opinion, there will be significant changes. It is true of politics as well that it is impossible to abolish everything from one moment to the next and to start everything anew from one moment to the next. Thus, to some extent there is a need for continuity. Unlike the questioner, the way I would put this is that in Hungary a political turn must come about, both in the party and in society. This turn is not beginning now, with the party conference—rather, the party conference can give it significant impetus.

[Mester] However, this political turn is the result of something, is the result of many things, in my view fundamentally of the fact that our concept of socialism, our image of socialism, has changed considerably in recent times. I do not know what effect this has had on youth.

[Hamori] I sense a dual effect. Since young people have far less experience and far fewer preconceptions about the changes, they are more responsive to them. Thus, they are more willing to adopt the new values than the older people are. The disintegration of the earlier concept of egalitarianism, equality, in society is less of a problem for them. On the other hand, the confused situation throws them into greater confusion than it does the older generations.

[Mester] Is this because there is not a permanent value to which they can adapt themselves or because what we regarded as a value yesterday is no longer considered to be one? Does this make them feel insecure? Is this how I should understand what you have just said?

[Hamori] Yes, this is so. Both factors are present. The permanent values are missing because the earlier ones are losing their prominence and the new ones do not gain strength easily. For example, openness, competitive spirit, innovation, modernization, the questions of the environment are only gradually gaining strength in our society.

[Mester] Nowadays we hear a great deal about expected personnel changes. I assume that this topic also was discussed in the Communist Youth League Central Committee.

[Hamori] Well, this was so. In our body, too, many people said that personnel changes were needed. Nonetheless, I felt that there were two important differences as compared to similar views voiced at other forums. One of these is that in the Communist Youth League they did not merely point to the Central Committee, but also mentioned town, country, factory, and institution leaders as well, even if without going into personalities. The other important difference is that, as compared to the other forums, I was less aware of the search for scapegoats, the questioning of who did what and why, or who did not do this or that. This was present, of course, but our people also expressed very markedly that we needed leaders who were committed to a program, who had a face, who were trustworthy, and who accepted responsibility for that program and did so in public.

[Mester] If I may be quite frank, I am not very keen on you talking about a search for scapegoats. In my opinion what is happening nowadays is not a search for scapegoats, but people looking for those who were responsible. It may be possible to argue that this is not the most timely task at present, but it is very difficult to say that this is not understandable. People appear to be saying in practice that if we want a new political program, and we do want one, while also preserving the values of the old policies, then it is very difficult to envisage this with those people responsible for the situation that has developed. Is this not so?

[Hamori] I agree with your train of thought. It is generally a consequence of something when someone becomes a scapegoat or is made into a scapegoat. You are right in saying that it is necessary to speak about responsibility, sooner or later, but we have to speak about it in public, as well. The fact that this is rather shrouded most today is owing to the known facts about our decision-making mechanism. What is perhaps even more important is that success always brings forth many people claiming credit for it, while no one claims credit for something that has not succeeded too well.

[Mester] I do not know how far you care, but let me tell you that this time I very much agree with you.

[Hamori] Thank you very much.

[Mester] We are now really discussing the question of how the party's policy could be made more successful. You have already said that in this connection the progressive forces must provide the answer. Others have said the same thing, but it is a question of who we regard as the progressive forces. I am putting this to you because it is to be feared that some people think, in the old way, that those who do not echo our ideas and our intentions are not progressive. Is this a groundless fear?

[Hamori] This is not a groundless concern. There is a need for a basis for the changes about which we speak such a great deal today. In order for there to be a basis, we must know who will benefit from the changes and who will not benefit. Thus, there is a need for differentiation. From another aspect, we must transform ourselves—the social processes—so that in the meantime there is a fixed point that we can rely on. In this context, the earlier image of society, the social structure—that is, the simplification of the working class, peasantry, and intelligentsia—cannot be used nowadays. after all, the

working class is also diverse, and there are bigger differences between the earlier traditional classes. Thus, there is a need for differentiation in political work, between, shall we say, the interests of different workers of various enterprises.

[Mester] Forgive me, but when I asked this question this was not the only thing that I had in mind, though I had this in mind as well. I was also thinking that there are views which we used to label, for example, nonprogressive. Then life justified them and not us. Now we are acting as if they had not said anything earlier. I am afraid that we might fall into the same trap once again.

[Hamori] I believe that our party is not conceited or arrogant. I have also experienced the sort of thing you have mentioned. I consider this to be an error, something that we have to end, and I am sure that sooner or later the appropriate evaluation will be given of other views which we labeled, and wrongly labeled, earlier on.

[Mester] When you say that our party is not conceited and not arrogant, since I cannot thing in terms of organizations but only in terms of people, I have to say that inside the party there are conceited and arrogant people and some of them are in far from low positions. There are some among them who lately have begun to look on their own earlier activities in a rather self-critical spirit, but many people consider that this self-criticism comes rather late. Consequently, they do not believe very much in the genuineness of the self-criticism. Let us be frank about this as well.

[Hamori] Here the majority is correct. In other words, when it comes to people who have shown that their words and their actions diverge from one another, we have to part from them. This is my view on this matter. I had this in mind as well when I spoke of trustworthiness.

[Mester] Well, yes, this and also that even when we do not agree, let us take those debates which we used to cover up, precisely in order to make it appear that we were united before the public. Often in the past we pretended that there was unity even when there was not. Now, however, there is a new version which fills me with some concern. That is that we appear to believe that publicity in itself will solve everything. Open debate does not solve anything in itself. We cannot just argue without end and then do nothing.

[Hamori] For us Hungarians, a lot of talk without action is a great danger. This can develop and I can already see its symptoms. The way out can be to act according to a program, something which we have been speaking about all along. Let the party conference concentrate on just a few issues now, for example, improving the functioning of the party and the system of political institutions, but within this it should take significant, decisive action. If that happens, there will not be a sharp turn from 1 day to the next, but people will know that things are really changing.

[Mester] Yes, but let us add that open debate is not some sort of concession on the part of the political sphere but a condition of democratic public life. This is a different approach.

[Hamori] I regard open debate as the natural element of politics and not as some sort of concession.

[Mester] I am also interested in what sort of view the Communist Youth League formed of the draft standpoint of the party and also whether there was a deabte in your ranks or whether you formed your own position without debate.

[Hamori] There was not such agreat debate as I had anticipated. Let us look at the main theses. First of all, we wrote a two-page letter and, besides this, added numerous comments to every page in the draft standpoint. Thus, we had a concrete textual recommendation and we had a recommendation regarding the political weight to be given to the various parts. As regards the latter topic, we formulated this question of a turn, the personnel aspect of it. We formulated the importance of education as a long-term strategic issue. We decided that the program for resurgence in the sphere of economic policy adopted last year and the government's program for stabilization continue to be valid, in our view, in the future as well.

[Mester] In the end, were you satisfied with the draft standpoint or not?

[Hamori] We accepted it as a basis for future work;in that sense we were satisfied with it, but we recommended significant changes on many points. I would like to emphasize two of these. One of them is the question of minority opinions inside the party and the other concerns the Communist Youth League as the party's youth organization.

[Mester] I do not altogether understand this latter point. I understand the first one, it means that there should be scope not only to pay attention to the views of the minority but also to take action on the basis of their views. But what is the second point?

[Hamori] The second point is linked to the passage in the draft standpoint which lists the three great social and mass organizations, that is, the trade unions, the Patriotic People's Front, and the Communist Youth League. We drew up a new document relating to the Communist Youth league.

[Mester] Aha. This has not been published yet.

[Hamori] Naturally. Questions relating to the party and the Communist Youth League must be decided first of all inside the party and the Communist Youth League.

[Mester] Permit me another question. What is your view about the opinion which holds that for the renewal of politics there is a need for new political personalities as well?

[Hanori] We have already spoken about the need for people with credit. Well, someone with credit is a man who is trusted by the people, who has shown that he does what he says and vice versa. This man, one or several men, must have an individual face, a face that can be recognized, which distinguishes him from others.

[Mester] And why was facelessness fashionable up till now?

[Hamori] Well, as a member of the politburo, I meet at least two types of observation every day. One says that you people there are not united in your thinking, you are not saying the same thing. The other says that you people are faceless, you lack individuality. It is difficult to be wise in this sphere. I see the question of unity on the part of the leadership as meaning first and foremost unity of action. Besides this, people, the leaders included, can have many views on various matters.

[Mester] I do not know whether I understand you correctly, but if I do then it is as if you wish for individual faces, but these faces should have similar features. Is this not so?

[Hamori] Yes.

[Mester] This is a very difficult matter because what we would like here is that one should observe very different personality characteristics in politicians, and then beyond these, there could, of course, be some similar features, as well. I could mention one such feature; it would be an acceptable common feature that you should all be on the side of political progress, every time and openly, and apart from this, you should differ from each other.

[Hamori] I agree with this.

[Mester] Thank you for having accepted our invitation.

Strike News From Poland Worrisome

AU0505093588 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 4 May 88 p 2

[Article by Gabor Miklos: "News from Poland"]

[Text] The news coming from Poland worries us. For the time being, the reports speak about local strikes in the Nowa Huta Foundry, in the Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk, and in large-scale enterprises in Wroclaw. If I try to put the mosaic together, it shows a series of events that have already occurred once. Did it not start the same way about 8 years ago? At that time, with demands for wage increases, it began with strikes in some enterprises or railroad junctions far from the capital. Then came August, the series of "stormy months," and the rest is well known.

Today, however, the situation is quite different from the one in the spring of 1980. First of all, the international situation is quite different, and so is the domestic situation in Poland: worse in some respects, and better in other respects. For example, it is clear that the purchasing power of the Polish zloty was higher at that time, the supply of goods was better, and inflation was lower too. In 1980 the workers' demands—which were later recognized as justified—were made for renewal and a "socialism without distortions." Then, there came other types of distortions, followed by the declaration of the state of emergency.

After months of disturbances, however, the regime, which was struggling with the economic and social crisis, and the party, which lost one-third of its members, were able to change course. In spite of the difficulties, reforms were adopted, freedom rights were extended, ideological pluralism emerged in the society, and ventures made their way into the economy. The fact is that the renewal and the reform have not led to the desired results, the price reform and self-financing did not provide fresh ham rolls for everyone; shortages of goods continue and there is double-digit inflation in Poland.

The Polish people say that public opinion today connects the present problems precisely with the reforms, rather than the lack of change. At the same time, the image of the omnipotent center remains. It can give and withdraw money and goods. However, it is possible to give and withdraw only goods that have been produced, and the traditional large-scale industrial enterprises currently on strike find it increasingly difficult to make ends meet. No doubt, Poland is also trying to find the causes of the problems. The party has committed itself to following the course of reforms—Wojciech Jaruselski said on May Day.

Strikes, however, can hardly produce results. The press agencies and radio programs report of revival of the leading circles of the former Solidarity movement: They go from town to town, and from enterprise to enterprise. No doubt, they want to make use of the bad mood resulting from the difficult economic situation and the shortages in order to make a comeback. The press has written that the Polish leadership has promised to introduce a "reform dictatorship", and wants to carry out its program with the most determined measures. They do not want to return to the practice prior to the reform. The majority of the Polish people most probably do not want to see the return of a period of uncertainty, endless lines in front of shops, and the ominous rationing system. Therefore, who is interested in all this? Possibly,

there are people in Poland who want the reform to collapse completely. Some do so because this way they would be justified in claiming that it is impossible to reform the economic and political system of socialism. Others would find justification for their claim that the previous practice was the correct one, when everything was clear and there were no strikes in socialism. I do not believe that the steelworkers of Nowa Huta think of all these things, but the consequences do not always stop at the factory gates either, and these consequences can have an unfavorable impact on other experiments too.

Poland—also because of its conflicts—has been in the center of attention for 8 years. It has provided an example of the consequences of missed reforms, and of the mistakes made by a leadership blinded by a propaganda of success during miserable years. It also provided an example later (in 1980-81) of the fact that it is impossible to institute changes if the forces of socialism are constantly losing ground. Of course, history does not repeat itself. Nevertheless, earlier experience makes us worry when we read the current news from Poland.

Grosz, Delegation Depart for UK Visit

LD0405172788 Budapest MTI in English 1533 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Budapest, May 4 (MTI)—On Wednesday Karoly Grosz, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, left on an official visit for the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland on the invitation of head of government Margaret Thatcher. The prime minister is accompanied by Laszlo Kapolyi, government commissioner of the Council of Ministers; Ferenc Bartha, undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Trade; Laszlo Kovacs, deputy minister of foreign affairs; Ferenc Ratkai, deputy minister of education and culture; and Tamas Beck, president of the Hungarian People's Republic to the United Kingdom, is to join the delegation in London.

Karoly Grosz and party were seen off at Ferihegy Airport by Jozsef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, minister of trade, and Peter Varkonyi, minister of foreign affairs. Present were Peter Herborne, charge d'affaires ad interim at the Budapest Embassy of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

Welcomed to UK by Mellor

LD0405222588 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 4 May

[Text] Prime Minister Karoly Grosz has arrived in London. He and his entourage were met at the airport by David Mellor, minister of state for foreign affairs, and then the guests were driven to their residence. The official program starts tomorrow morning.

Kadar Assesses 1956, Soviet Assistance

PM191051 Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian No. 14, 1 Apr 88 pp 4-6

["Interview—Janos Kadar's Answers in OGONEK—The Four Lessons of 4 Decades —Renewal on the the Threshold of the 21st Century—Friendship and Support Are Necessary," by OGONEK special correspondent Galina Shergova: date and place not given]

[Text] MSZMP General Secretary Comrade Janos Kadar shares with OGONEK readers his thoughts and reminiscences about the difficult years of the establishment of socialism in Hungary and the trials that communists underwent in 1956. Here is what Janos Kadar said in a conversation with the current affairs writer Galina Shergova, the journal's special correspondent.

We are publishing below Galina Shergova's questions and Janos Kadar's answers.

Question: During the 40-year history of the building of socialism, Hungary has tasted both the joy of victories and the sorrow of defeats. Neither the one nor the other can be erased from historical memory. But while formerly we were inclined to talk only of achievements, today we must interpret political and social processes in their totality. Hence, Comrade Kadar, our readers would be interested in your reflections on the uneasy path traveled by your country. What, in your view, are the landmark periods in the Hungarian People Reoublic's 40-year history?

Answer: The Hungarian people are not the only one whose history is one of victories and defeats. Every people has had to, and still has to, wage a persistent struggle for its existence, the fate of every people abounds in the most diverse events. The Hungarian people's history is perhaps somewhat original insofar as they arrived in the Carpathian region from far away, from what today is the Soviet Union, to acquire a motherland here. That happened toward the end of the 9th century. Our forebears found themselves in a totally alien environment ethnically, geographically, and socially, and it was very difficult to grow roots here. They were a relatively small people who had lived a hard life, and the struggle for their existence had been particularly complex.

The Hungarian people have been writing their modern history since 1945. Now it is already clear that the epoch of building socialism can be divided into clearly distinct periods. This is how I would describe them: A successful struggle was waged between 1945 and 1948 for the creation of a democratic Hungary and the establishment of people's political and economic power.

Unfortunately, a personality cult set in in our country too in 1949-1953, and between 1953 and 1957 this led to a grave crisis which culminated in the tragic days of the fall of 1956.

More than 3 decades have passed since then, and this time can also be divided into separate periods whose landmarks are historical events like the defense and reorganization of power, the socialist reorganization of agriculture, the laying of the foundations of socialism, and the reform of the economic management system, introduced 20 years ago as a new method of socialist planned economy with the subsequent expansion of socialist democracy, development of the system of political institutions, and implementation of the party's leading role in changing conditions.

In order to try to explain my people's fate and my motherland's history to young OGONEK readers less familiar with these events, I would like to dwell in more detail on the history of the Hungarian People's Republic during the last 4 decades.

In 1944-1945, when the Red Army liberated Hungary from Hitler's hordes and routed the Horthy regime, the people heaved a sigh of relief and got down to work. At that time only a few had precise ideas and clear visions of the future. The ideas of socialism were known only to the communists, who had spent many years working deep in the underground. Hardly anybody had a clear idea of the Soviet Union as a state and political formation. Only rumors were circulating. It must also be borne in mind that social relations in Hungary were extremely backward in comparison with other European countries. Capitalism was underdeveloped, and it could even be said that remnants of feudalism were still in existence in Hungary. The aristocracy, large landowners, and other suchlike strata of society enjoyed special privileges.

The organizational and explanatory work launched by the Communist Party, now operating legally, yielded its results, opened people's eyes, and helped them to begin the new life.

A certain contingent of troops remained behind in the country while the Red Army units moved on further West. The accusation has often been leveled at us that the new Hungary arrived on the tips of Red Army bayonets. Those who say this forget the fact that, back in 1919, the bayonets of the young Soviet power were hundreds of kilometers away from Hungary, but Hungarian workers' power was nonetheless born and the Hungarian Soviet Republic was the first after the one born out of the Great October Socialist Revolution. We do not deny that, by routing the old state machine, the Red Army facilitated our position, but all the main work still had to be done by the Hungarian people themselves. The people embarked on building the new life with great enthusiasm. The redistribution of land was of great importance for Hungary, because until the country's liberation the overwhelming majority of the population were engaged in agriculture and lived in the countryside. This is why the redistribution of land made a strong impression on people.

Banks and enterprises employing more than 100 workers were nationalized. The state took over the basic means of production. Optimism and hope reigned in society. This is what determined the mood of the working class and the liberated peasantry, which was given land.

A considerable proportion of the intelligentsia also supported the changes taking place in the country. A situation developed whereby the Communist Party was confidently exercising leadership. There was a major need for this because, as soon as the champions of the old system realized what was happening, they immediately launched a struggle to regain the power they had lost. An acute political struggle for power was under way. We will never forget this. The stakes were high: Who was going to defeat whom? Reaction relied on very powerful forces during the first elections in 1945. The Communists found themselves in the minority then—it must not be forgotten that anticommunist propaganda had been conducted in Hungary in the 25 years following the stifling of the Soviet Republic in 1919; driven underground, the party suffered terrible losses. As a result of its correct policy and convincing achievements, the Communist Party won more than 22 percent of the vote even in the 1947 elections; the government coalition parties held the majority. The outcome of the struggle for power was thus decided. Hungary embarked on the path of socialist transformations. The party pursued a people's policy, marched along the Marxist-Leninist path, and sought and found allies. It managed to rally the country's progressive forces and the parties prepared to cooperate with Communists in the interests of building a democratic Hungary.

Question: But the subsequent years, and the fifties in particular, produced their own difficulties in the development of Hungarian people's democracy. Our readers are familiar with the "break-up" which developed in Hungary at that time. What, in your opinion, are the causes of this?

Answer: The country's development entered a new stage in the spring of 1948. The foundations of socialism started being laid. Working people in their overwhelming majority supported this line and looked into the future with great hope. Unfortunately, matters subsequently took a turn for the worse. The parties cooperating with us went into decline and later ceased to exist because the sectarian-dogmatic leadership at the time—Matyas Rakosi and his group—took up arms against its former allies. I would like to emphasize that the building of socialism remained the determining factor also in those years, but at the same time the negative aspects of the policy pursued by the Rakosi leadership started taking an increasingly intensive form. True enough, this was not so striking at the time, and it is only now that we are clearly aware of it.

That was the time when only one single model for the building of socialism was known—the Soviet model. It was therefore natural and normal to believe that we had to do everything the way it was done in the Soviet Union. I myself thought so.

Matyas Rakosi (Footnote) (Matyas Rakosi, 1892-1971—one of the leaders of the Hungarian Communist Party. First secretary of the Hungarian Workers Party until July 1956. Expelled from the party in 1962 because of gross mistakes committed while holding the post of leader of its Central Committee. Died in the city of Gorkiy in 1971) and those who returned with him from emigration were not familiar with Hungarian conditions. Rakosi himself was not familiar with them. In the twenties he was arrested and spent 16 years in jail until he was able to leave for the Soviet Union following an intergovernmental agreement. His associates could not have been familiar with the Hungarian conditions since they had also lived in emigration after the stifling of the revolution in 1919. The pace of socialist building which was adopted did not conform with Hungary's capacity. Following the Soviet example, they raised the slogan: "Let us turn Hungary into a country of iron and steel!" Huge metallurgical combines and steel casting plants were created. The amount of money appropriated for capital investments was simply not available.

These were already years of subjectivism, which is alien to Marxism. The country's liberation really improved people's lives. Anyone who worked was in a position to earn. The peasantry, who were previously starving, acquired land. The broad industrialization gave opportunities for work to workers and peasants alike. But the result of excessive industrialization and excessive capital investments was that standards of living started declining. Agriculture was neglected, while heavy industry was overdeveloped for Hungary, since we have significant deposits of neither iron ore nor coking coal. Alas, we are still feeling the negative effects of "hyperindustrialization."

Negative phenomena also developed in sociopolitical life. Stalin promulgated the famous thesis that the further the building of socialism advances, the more acute the class struggle becomes. At the first stage of the building of socialism it is logical to wage struggle against reactionary forces because they do not voluntarily give up their power and, having lost it, want to regain it. In Hungary we also had actual conspiracies and organizations acting against socialism. Later on, however, violent measures involving breaches of legality were also applied against people who were totally uninvolved in these conspiracies. There was the opinion that the enemy had infiltrated the party leadership. But how? Who were the culprits? Those who supported Rakosi gave this reply: There were Hungarian Communists who lived in Hungary and worked underground. How come they survived? Is it not suspicious that they were allowed to survive? And how about those who had emigrated to the West? They must have been recruited by Western intelligence for sure. Thus, everyone was under suspicion. Those who fought on the Republican side in Spain, as well as those who fought with the Resistance in West Europe.

The departure from Lenin's path and the sectarian-dogmatic policy ultimately led to national tragedy. I have always said that the political crisis in Hungary did not last for just 10-12 days in October 1956, but stretched from the summer of 1953 through the summer of 1957. The October days of 1956 were days of open riot by counterrevolutionary forces—mass murders and bloody orgies. Why do I believe that the crisis lasted 4 years? The point is that at the time, in the summer of 1953, the Hungarian leadership, encouraged by the Soviet leadership, was forced to admit that it had committed fatal mistakes. All these mistakes were exposed and identified at the Central Committee plenum, including the Rakosi personality cult and everything linked with it—erroneous economic policy, illegality. When a start was made on correcting these mistakes, a new and equally dangerous error was committed right away.

Two leadership nuclei immediately developed within the party, headed by Matyas Rakosi and Imre Nagy. (Footnote) (Imre Nagy, 1896-1958—chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers in 1953-1955. Reelected to this post 24 October 1956, right after the start of the counterrevolutionary events. Sentenced to death by a People's Court in 1958 for betrayal of the cause of communism committed while in office.) I must say that Imre Nagy was a well-known leader who had returned from the USSR. He and Rakosi had their differences while still in emigration, and those differences remained when they returned home. At one time Rakosi removed Nagy from the leadership. But now Imre Nagy was prime minister. And the program for correcting mistakes was announced by none else but Nagy in his report to Parliament. That report already contained nationalistic, anti-Soviet revisionist overtones, even though they were still quite well covered.

It was proclaimed in particular that, since agricultural cooperatives had not been formed on voluntary principles, everyone could leave the cooperatives. People, including the peasants, were confused. The cooperatives started disintegrating. While Imre Nagy's position was nationalist, anti-Soviet, and revisionist, Rakosi's position was dogmatic and sectarian.

A struggle between these two trends exploded at once. The party members, the communist aktiv, and the country's public had no idea whom to listen to or whom to follow. A factional struggle began within the party. This went on for several years. There were changes of course approximately every 6 months. First Rakosi's trend would gain the upper hand, then Imre Nagy's trend. The situation steadily deteriorated. The country knew just one thing: The mistakes had been identified but not corrected. The genuine forces of socialism were almost totally destroyed during those years, the party disintegrated, the state's strength weakened. The foundations of power literally rotted away and shrank. Disintegration also set in within the army.

Immediately following the counterrevolution, at the December (1956) Plenum of the Provisional Central Committee of the reorganized party, we identified four

causes of the dramatic events. First and foremost, Rakosi's sectarian dogmatic line; the second cause—Imre Nagy's revisionist course; the third—enemy activity within the country, since socialism was still a very young system: There were quite a few declasse elements and former bourgeois in Hungary. The fourth cause was the activity of international imperialism. This deserves a more detailed explanation.

It must be said that the imperialists adopted very well thought-out tactics. They offered no direct instigation of counterrevolution, did not say that the Communists had to be destroyed, did not even say that it was necessary to act against the Soviet Union. Everything was done in a much more sophisticated and consistent fashion. They had their own candidates for the positions of future leaders. For example, former Prime Minister Ferenc Nagy was living in the West. There were also others living there—fascists, gendarmes, and others such people. And they were united. Their protege in the country was Cardinal Mindszenty, (Footnote) (Cardinal Mindszenty, 1892-1975—head of the Hungarian Catholic Church. Sentenced in 1948 for participation in conspiracy against the people's republic. In 1956, set free by the counterrevolutionaries, he took part in the insurgency on the side of reactionary forces. Following the routing of the counterrevolution, he sought refuge in the territory of the U.S. Embassy in Budapest. Following agreement with the Vatican, left for Austria in 1971.) who was in jail at the time. By way of a cover, the imperialists promoted to the foreground Imre Nagy and his slogan—"The goal is the 'correction of mistakes.'"

Let's give our ideological adversaries the due credit: They thought everything out very well and thoroughly elaborated their tactics. The VOA and RFE broadcast incessantly. Leaflets were dropped over Hungary: "The errors that have been committed must be corrected." Imre Nagy was being acclaimed as the country's leader "who wants to pursue the 20th CPSU Congress line in Hungary."

But Rakosi's policy was equally dangerous and fraught with grave consequences. Ultimately, at the end of the summer of 1956, Rakosi was relieved of duty as first secretary, and Erno Gero (Footnote) (Erno Gero, 1898-1980—member of the Hungarian Communist Party leadership. First secretary of the Hungarian Communist Party from July to October 1956. Expelled from the party in 1962 for complicity in the violations of socialist legality during the personality cult period.) was elected to that office. But the enemies of socialism gave us no time for the party itself to correct the mistakes that had been committed; events developed too quickly. The tragedy flared up.

Question: Much has already been written about the counterrevolutionary insurgency in October 1956, both in Hungary and in our own country, in the Soviet Union. Nonetheless, personal reminiscences by an eyewitness and participant in events always help to give a deeper understanding of what happened. Tell us, please, about your memorable experiences during those days.

Answer: The armed uprising itself began 23 October. It was actually organized at a time when our entire leadership headed by Erno Gero, first secretary of the Hungarian Communist Party, was in Yugoslavia. The purpose of the trip was to normalize relations with Yugoslavia.

On the way back, when we were already approaching Budapest, we were engaged in a general conversation on the train. Gero said: "Let's go first to the Central Committee, and then we can home to unpack." I smiled: "No, let's rather get quickly home, and then make our way to the Central Committee, because if we were to go to the Central Committee at once we would not get home quickly." But since Gero was first secretary and had the last word, we all went to the Central Committee. And I did not get home at all. That was already the first day of open counterrevolutionary insurgency.

All the counterrevolutionary forces came into the arena during the October days. An armed uprising was organized and arsenals, barracks, and truck depots were attacked. Officers from the old army headed it. They were skilled at organizing. Armed groups were knocked together. The first target was the radio committee, and that was where the first armed clash took place. Actually, the insurgents were firing while the defenders had not been given orders to open return fire. All the jails were opened, and opponents of our system who had been sentenced for offenses that they really had committed, as well as common criminals, were set free. The slogans of the 20th congress, which had been used as camouflage, were torn down.

Our work to restore law and order in the country, to consolidate the healthy forces, and to elaborate a correct course began and continued in difficult conditions. But we received great assistance from our friends, primarily from the Soviet people. It is painful to say that Soviet teenagers died again, shoulder to shoulder with Hungarians, defending the people's power which was in jeopardy.

In the spring of 1957 the new leadership comprised a party-government delegation which went on its first visit to the Soviet Union. We were then encouraged by Khrushchev's words when we met: "We fully trust you and support you." After all, we were not very well known in Moscow, and during the critical October days even we ourselves did not have a clear idea about everything. This is how it all ended. Or rather, this is how it all actually began.

Question: You have spoken about the fruitlessness and shortsightedness of blindly copying a single model of socialism by countries with different national, historical, and economic conditions. Historical practice has confirmed that socialism comprises a multiplicity of ways

and experiences belonging to different countries and peoples. Nonetheless, the experience of an individual country probably helps to draw conclusions which could be useful for other socialist community countries.

In your view, what conclusions could be drawn from an analysis of the history of socialist building in Hungary?

Answer: Since a decent interval has now passed since the time of our country's liberation, it would probably not seem too immodest to sum up some of the experience that has accumulated.

The first and most important lesson in my view—a lesson we were taught in 1919, 1945, and 1956—is that every people needs a friend and support. All peoples, all countries—especially nowadays—are interdependent, and even the greatest of them need friends and allies. And this is even more true for small countries like ours. We found that friend and ally in the Soviet Union.

Second: No matter how good a friend and now firm a support a given people may have, nobody can accomplish a people's own national tasks on its behalf. Only if a people properly copes with them will it be able to earn other countries' respect.

Third: While building the new socialist society, every people must vigilantly and closely watch what is happening around it, it must learn all that is good and draw lessons from other people's mistakes, but the basis on which it must rely is the historical past and national traditions of its motherland, the unique economic, political, and cultural features of its native country.

Fourth: Socialism is built not just for communists but for the whole people, and it can be built only by rallying the forces of the whole people. The party's most important task is to forge this cohesion and work together with the people for the people.

Question: Being a communist.... What do you perceive as the main meaning of this term? Your own life story and the fate of your comrades-in-arms and some of your opponents offer much food for thought on this topic. Even though I realize that a brief reply to this question is not easy, these reflections are extremely important nowadays.

Answer: I could answer that question in just one word. In my view, for people personally it means happiness because it gives a purpose and a meaning to their life, but being a communist in general means serving. I am convinced that serving the working class and the working people is the purpose and meaning of a communist's life, of the Communist Party's activity. People are not born communists, they become communists. Life, the workers movement, and the party shape man and transform him into a communist. This goal has been guiding every one of my actions ever since the time, more than 50 years ago, when I, still a youngster, found my way into the workers movement. My life's path is complex, just like our people's path. I found myself in crisis situations on many occasions, but I never lost my confidence, my faith.

I spent all the time until the country's liberation in Hungary; I never left the country. During World War II some of the communists who were deep underground were arrested, some members of the leadership were killed. They did not find me, and I became secretary of the Central Committee which was operating in the country. You can imagine how difficult it was for us: A war was being fought against the country which was the torch-bearer for us communists, and we were considered the main enemy in Hungary. We had to work deep underground, in international isolation. We did not even have links with the comrades living in emigration, in the Soviet Union.

A warrant was issued against me, as a communist leader, in May 1942. I was arrested in the spring of 1944. This was brought about by the fact that Yugoslav partisans sent couriers to us to establish contacts with Hungary's underground party. Several persons were sent across the border, and one of them found us. We argued for a long time about which one of us should go to establish contacts. Finally I insisted that they send me. I had my reasons: I thought that I would be able to establish contacts with Moscow. And that was vitally important. Hungary was already occupied by the Germans. And the Gestapo arrested me on the Hungarian-Yugoslav border. I was handed over to the Hungarian authorities and eventually sentenced as a deserter under someone else's name, because at the time of the interrogations I was carrying reliable illegal documents, and I stuck to the cover story they told.

After moving around several jails, I ultimately escaped during the evacuation and made my way to Budapest. I got in touch with the comrades operating underground and started work again. It was not easy to live and work while being sought by the authorities—now under two identities—but I did manage to live to see the country's liberation.

Question: Since you, Comrade Kadar, have already touched upon incidents in your personal life, I would like to turn to events which we have already talked about. How did your relations develop with the party leadership section which returned from emigration to Hungary after the war?

Answer: In 1937 I was in jail in counterrevolutionary Hungary with Rakosi, so I had known him for a long time. Our personal relations were good from the very beginning, and remained good during the first few years following the liberation. After all, we always felt that, once we were liberated, the country's leaders would be the experienced old Communists living in emigration, whom we always treated with trust and respect. We

communists who lived in the country are not to blame for the fact that relations failed to develop in this way and deteriorated for the aforementioned reasons.

When Laszlo Rajk (Footnote) (Laszlo Rajk, 1909-1949—eminent figure of the Hungarian Communist Party, fought in the Spanish Civil War. Following the country's liberation he was member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, then deputy general secretary of the Hungarian Communist Party, minister of internal affairs, and later foreign minister. Arrested in May 1949 on a fabricated political charge, sentenced to death, and executed. Rehabilitated in 1955.) and his associates were arrested, I was not detained at the same time. This would not have fitted in with the concept whereby they were proclaimed to have been "international adventurists" recruited in various European countries. But my turn came later.

I still remember the beginning of my "epic." It was the end of the workday on 2 August 1950. Rakosi called me to his office and said: "Did you know that Szakasits (Footnote) (Arpad Szakasits, 1888-1965. Following Hungary's liberation became again general secretary of the Social Democratic Party. Following the amalgamation of the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party in 1948, became chairman of the Hungarian Workers' Party.) has been arrested? He was a police spy and an agent of the Labor Party, and you cooperated closely with him. He himself has confirmed this. I think that you must have something on your conscience. Tell me frankly what it is.... Come on, speak up, confess!" I replied: "I have nothing to tell you. I have no sins on my conscience!"

We were preparing for a party congress at the time. I was chairman of the congress organizational commission, member of the Politburo, and secretary of the Central Committee. Starting from that time, and for many months on end, Rakosi summoned me two or three times a week in the evenings and kept asking: "Come on now, tell me what you are hiding."

I was openly accused at a Politburo session sometime in October 1950. Following the country's liberation I worked for some time as a Budapest police chief and was later minister of internal affairs. So the charge was formulated thus: "Old-timers," in other words officers from the old police, continued to work under me in the police. Of course, there were no old-timers kept on in the political police. But we did keep on some experts in the criminal police. Their experience put them in a better position to deal with the criminal elements.

As a matter of fact, it was no use trying to explain anything. Rakosi had already decided everything, he had already lost patience, and he no longer had the nerve to carry on this daily "treatment" with me. Right after the Politburo session he exclaimed: "Confess to whatever is burdening you, I don't want to make a mistake." I replied: "I also don't want to see you making a mistake, because it would be much more unpleasant for me."

The arrests of former underground comrades continued after the congress. This group had never been in emigration but had always lived and worked in Hungary. One of the "suspects," afraid of being arrested, killed all his family and then committed suicide. I was arrested immediately after this became known. That was a few days before 1 May 1951. My photograph was still with the others distributed among the parade marchers. And the customary procedure in such cases was under way....

Stalin died in March 1953, and the situation started changing somewhat.

I was released from jail in the summer of 1954. I had nothing. I was given a shirt, a pair of trousers, and a pair of shoes, and they let me out on the street. My wife was, of course, also expelled from the party while I was in jail. They tried to persuade her to renounce and divorce me. She did not do so, but she was not allowed to bear my name. My wife worked in some workshop in a basement. She had a tiny room in Kobanya, one of Budapest's workers districts. I was summoned by Rakosi 2 days later. I entered his office, he stood up to greet me, embraced me, and said: "I am so pleased that you are still alive. What would you like to do?" I replied that I would like to be a worker, as I had always been, but I thought that it would be hardly possible at that time. So I would work in the party. "What would you like to be?", Rakosi asked. It made absolutely no difference, I replied. And so I became secretary of the party district committee in one of Budapest's workers districts. I felt good there: It was the district where I had worked back in my youth.

While there, I had an opportunity to look into the prevailing situation in greater detail. It was sad to see what the party had turned into, how people's confidence was shaken, how the party, and the country with it, had taken the wrong path.

When talking about personalities, people ask time and again for an assessment of the two figures in Hungary who bear the greatest responsibility for the tragic turn of events. If we want to learn from our past, then we must learn lessons from the bitter historical experience.

I usually say that a communist must pass two key tests. The first: Will he be able to endure when he finds himself isolated, in the hands of the enemy and its apparatus of coercion? And the second: How will he behave once he comes to power? Matyas Rakosi passed the first test, but failed the second. We must always bear in mind the warning of what can happen to a party member, especially a leader, once he forgets that being a communist means serving the people.

Usually I also mention the fact that Imre Nagy was not a counterrevolutionary from the very beginning. He was pushed into the camp of the counterrevolution by the logic of factional struggle. Toward the end of the events he was indifferent as to who backed him and the purpose for which he was being used. Having handed over the power of the working class, he opened the door to counterrevolution and, having broken with our allies, turned to imperialism for assistance against the people's power.

The personal tragedy of those two former communists shows that unprincipled factional struggle and breaches of party unity cause incalculable damage.

Question: If we are correct in our perception, Hungary today is entering a stage of new major economic and social changes. What has brought them about and what will they produce? How can they be related to the revolutionary transformations in our country, and how are they linked with the prospects for the development of the world socialist system?

Answer: I usually say that in 1956 Hungary found itself in a situation whereby "the steam blew the lid off the pot." The party and the country found themselves in such a deep crisis that everything had to be very frankly and thoroughly reviewed in order to discover the reason why events developed in precisely this fashion. And, even more important, there was a need to draw conclusions from experience. This is why we were forced, already 3 decades ago, to seriously seek out methods with which the party could implement its leading role in practice and could more effectively guide the political and economic building of socialism. So, even at that time, we started seeking ways to provide better division of spheres of activity between the party, the government, and social organizations, more efficient methods of economic management, opportunities to expand democracy, and so on.

In the course of a few years we managed to consolidate people's power and the socialist social relations, to gain the trust and support of the masses, and produce significant results in development. Over the last few years—owing to weaknesses in our own work and adverse international conditions, especially in the economy—the pace of our advance has slowed down somewhat. We have some quite difficult problems. But the foundations of our system are firm, the problems are soluble given the appropriate approach. Hungary continues to march along the path of socialist building.

Nowadays communists and peoples in a whole series of socialist countries are engaged in solving similar problems. Events taking place in the Soviet Union are of particularly great importance for us. The tremendous restructuring being implemented by the Soviet people under the CPSU's leadership has a favorable effect on the whole world. What is now happening in the Soviet Union, China, and other socialist countries signifies an epoch of a great renewal of socialism on the threshold of the 21st century. As far as I am concerned, I feel happy that, as a communist, I have lived to see this epoch and, in my own motherland, am a participant in this great work which means an advance for us all.

Allow me to conclude the conversation with these words: Hungarian communists and the Hungarian people wish the CPSU and the fraternal Soviet people great and complete success in their ambitious work.

Soviet Official on Rewriting History

AU290953 Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian No. 17/22 Apr 88 p 7

[Interview with Miran Mchedlov, deputy director of the Marxism-Leninism Institute of the CPSU Central Committee, by Ferenc Varnai: "History—Feelings Is One Thing, Ideology Is Another"—in Moscow; date not given]

[Text] Miran Mchedlov, doctor of philosophical sciences, received our correspondent in his Moscow study and answered his questions.

They Were No Prophets [subhead]

[Varnai] To what extent do the debates currently under way on judging the historical past contribute to the rewriting the history of the CPSU?

[Mchedlov] It is true that the ideological activity has become more lively in the area of historical sciences. In the "broad sense of the word," there is certain opposition to a factual approach to our history coming from scientists. By this I mean that one need not consciously oppose the ideas of restructuring, only that quite a few people have not yet reached the stage of evaluating the facts and thinking freely about history, economy, morality, philosophy, and society. Scientific problems, however, can never be solved by approaching them in a simplified way. Lenin was already ill when he received Kropotkin, the revolutionary geographer, who asked him: What do you consider the most difficult task in the construction of the new society? Lenin answered that they would overcome hunger, intervention, and civil war, but the most difficult task is winning the people's minds; and educating the new generations will be an everlasting task.

We started to rethink and rewrite the history of the party a few years ago. We were still working on this when we started all over again because we found that important facts were missing from our body of knowledge, and some historians themselves were not yet prepared to consider the facts honestly, and they were unable to advance on the basis of the old concepts. A new approach was needed.

The essence of such a new approach is, first of all, serious consideration of the facts, discovery of material in archives, and the study of original publications. Second: a realistic and objective approach to the conditions of the times, an approach free of extremists ideas. Third: taking into consideration that history was not shaped only by leaders and their followers.

Several types of dogmas are still disturbing us. We cannot study the history of Marxism-Leninism on the assumption that they were prophets who were always right about everything. This would simply not correspond to the facts. Lenin often spoke openly about the several mistakes committed by the Bolsheviks, for example, in their relations with the third Duma. Following the October Revolution, Lenin himself counted very much on a proletarian revolution in the West, primarily in Germany. When this failed to occur, he honestly admitted that his previous considerations proved to wrong, and he worked out new concepts for the victory of socialism in one country only. If a concept proves to be wrong, wisdom lies in discarding it rather than sticking to it. The classic thinkers are indeed geniuses, but their genius manifested itself in the fact that they analyzed the concrete situation on the basis of a large amount of information, generalized correctly, and learned from their mistakes.

[Varnai] How do you evaluate the way in which the writers deal with history?

[Mchedlov] We have an understanding of the creative freedom of artists. At the same time, we consider the need to be aware of historical facts as an important requirement. A group of historians is currently publishing documentation in PRAVDA. A meeting between historians and literary men will take place in the framework of the Academy of Sciences, in order to jointly analyze relations between historical truth and artistic formulations. If artistic generalization goes beyond certain limits, it can lead to a distortion of the truth.

[Varnai] Precisely, how does the rewriting of the party history advance?

[Mchedlov] In fact, we are presently preparing a comprehensive and synthesized 6-volume history of Marxism-Leninism. The first volume, which has already been published, covers the period between the appearance of Marxism up to the Paris Commune. The second and third volumes are almost ready and will be published next year. Publication of the entire series is planned for 1995.

Two Kinds of Rehabilitation [subhead]

In our work, we are taking into consideration the concept formulated in the speech delivered by Mikhail Gorbachev on the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. According to this concept, we are living in one world and at the same time, even if we have set different concrete goals for ourselves, none of us has a monopoly over the truth. The stress is on understanding the way different concepts contribute to different strata of the society rather than discarding such concepts that differ from our own. For example, we were not the first who dealt with the issue of technical and scientific development and the various issues of environmental protection. However, we were the first to deal with the tasks of the new relations with "the Third World."

This broad and civilized approach enables us to search for the strict historical truth. For example, we should not only examine Kautskiy critically, but also take into consideration the positive elements of his views. Or, to use another example, we should evaluate historical personalities in the same way as Lenin did in the case of Proshyan, one of the leaders of the leftist Socialist Revolutionaries and former postal affairs minister who opposed the Soviet government in 1918 and died in 1919. Lenin spoke at his funeral and stressed that Proshyan's activities did more for the revolution that the damage he caused after the revolution.

Conversely, we cannot remain silent about anyone's negative aspects just because we remained silent, over a long period and incorrectly—about his positive aspects. The so-called "two leaders" concept, for example, is well known here for decades, the impression was given that the 1917 revolution had two leaders: Lenin and Stalin. This is simply not true. Stalin's role was exaggerated later. Trotskiy also shared this two-leaders concept, of course, in that he was supposed to be the first leader of the revolution and Lenin the other leader. Trotskiy did indeed do a lot for the revolution and to defend it, and proved to be an outstanding military organizer. But, following the revolution, he made many mistakes, including military ones. For example, he envisaged the Soviet regime as a military regime.

[Varnai] How is rehabilitation progressing?

[Mchedlov] The Rehabilitation Committee of the party is led by Politburo member Mikhail Solomentsev, and our people also participate in the activity of the committee. The committee analyzes the facts on the basis of original documents. The state rehabilitation of Bukharin and of his ten followers was a result of the activity of this committee. At the same time, we wanted to reach a decision on Bukharin and his followers from a party point of view, but we have not yet succeeded in concluding this work. However, it has been proven, that Bukharin and his followers had no contacts with imperialist intelligence services, and we could no longer wait to publish this finding. But, as a result, a merely emotional approach toward these people has also gained ground in our press. Sentimental interpretations, however, have no place in ideology. At the first congress of the writers' association, for example, Bukharin used vulgar terms in evaluating Yesenin, the poet, because of his Kulak origin, an evaluation that was totally unacceptable to Marxist esthetics, and which was even more vulgar than

the one given by Stalin. In his book "The Theory of Historical Materialism," Bukharin said that, in order to make a stool, a carpenter must consider its purpose. According to Bukharin, the builders of a socialist society must similarly follow the requirements of political expediency. But Bukharin himself fell victim to this "political expediency." In other words, we must provide an objective evaluation of all the people who contributed to the victory of the revolution and the construction of socialism, and who also had quite a few mistaken views. We use original sources, and we study and evaluate the views emerging from speeches and writings. In our work, we will also not be influenced if someone has previously been declared as an "enemy of the people," or if we are dealing with the views of a martyr.

Joint Committee [subhead]

[Varnai] A joint committee in charge of studying the blank spots in Polish-Soviet relations has recently been established. What is this committee's work program?

[Mchedlov] We are dealing with many issues, but primarily with the period of the Comintern. There are two basic views concerning the Comintern. Our Romanian comrades emphasize the negative aspects more. There is much truth in their views on the period following Lenin's death because the Comintern often failed to make a thorough enough evaluation of the concrete conditions of individual parties and countries and exaggerated the role played by centralism, and because the Comintern replaced the leading bodies of several parties on the basis of unfounded reasons. However, many other parties, including the CPSU, think that the Comintern also left us an important political heritage. It made a great contribution in training cadres for the workers and communist movements and it formulated several important theoretical issues like, for example, the people's front policy, the tasks facing the antiwar movement, the principles of proletarian internationalism, and so on.

We try to publish the Comintern documents, and we transfer everything possible to the competent party archives. What is the sensitive issue in this area? The sensitive issue here is that, on the basis of the joint mandate of the parties that participated in the dissolution of the Comintern, the CPSU is in charge of preserving these documents. The CPSU is not authorized to transfer documents dealing with sensitive issues referring to the internal affairs of some parties. The representatives of the parties that signed the decision on dissolving the Comintern should get together and make a decision themselves.

On the Archives [subhead]

[Mchedlov continues] Concerning other issues, like, for example, the rumors connected with the resettlement of part of the Polish population or with the Katyn tragedy, all these are more speculations born in the head of some people rather than evaluations based on "newly discovered proof."

[Varnai] When will the CPSU archives be open to the public?

[Mchedlov] Do you know of any party archive in the world that is totally open? We ask the social democratic parties in vain, for example, but we hardly receive any old documents. Which bourgeois party in power puts its classified documents at our disposal? They should, therefore, not expect perfection from us either. However, the Central Committee decided to lift the secrecy of many documents. In various libraries, we will establish departments where an entire series of materials are openly on display, and permits will be issued for scientific research covering other materials.

May 4: Strikes Continue, Negotiations Sought

Bishops Urge Negotiations

LD0405142288 Hamburg DPA in German 1305 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, (DPA)—The Polish bishops have warned against an escalation of the waves of strikes and asked the government to begin negotiations with representative groups of the populace. A communique from the Bishops' Conference says: "The citizens who have a feeling of responsibility for the fate of the country must be filled with fear by the latest disturbances and strikes in some industrial centers." The bishops understand the motives of the workers and are attempting to search for the reasons which have moved them to their protest action.

The bishops write: "The painful experience of the last years and concern about the fate of the nation should induce us to look for new ways together which lead to contact and to common ground between the leadership and the populace... The situation in the country makes it necessary to drop formal considerations and to look for those common solutions which serve the well-being of the whole nation. The only way which can lead to an overcoming of the crisis in the country is dialogue between the state authorities and the representative groups in the community. It is generally considered that no government and no political bloc can solve the urgent problems of our country without the wide participation of the populace." The bishops call on all Poles to work together toward unity and for the creation of a healthy economy. In the process the government has to be "prepared to introduce the necessary reforms and the populace prepared for honest work and even deprivations for the benefit of the whole country."

Warsaw: Steelworkers Demands Met

LD0405144988 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] In the Lenin Steelworks a plenum of the party's factory committee is taking place regarding the sociopolitical situation in the combine. Stanislaw (Baran), first secretary of the party's factory committee, reported on the course of the strike which has been going on since last Tuesday in two rolling-mill departments. He stated that thanks to resource redistribution within the enterprise all the day demands of the crew have been realized. It was decided to upgrade each employee's salary by 10,500 zloty.

In spite of meeting these demands and the appeal of the managing director, the strike is still going on. Stanislaw (Baran) asked the members at the factory committee plenum what should be done to break the situation which cannot continue due to the state of the whole economy.

Wroclaw Defense Committee Meets

LD0405145988 Wroclaw Domestic Service in Polish 1405 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] The Voivodship Defense Committee met in Wroclaw today, with General Antoni Jasinski, first deputy national defense minister, member of the National Defense Committee, national defense vice minister; Zdzislaw Balicki, first secretary of the Voivodship PZPR Committee in Wroclaw; and Major General Henryk Szumski, commander of the Silesian Military District, taking part. The session was chaired by Janusz Owczarek, voivoda of Wroclaw. Issues of patriotic (?and defense) education were discussed. Participants heard a report from Maj-Gen Zdzislaw (?Biernaczyk), head of the Voivodship Internal Affairs Office, on the state of security, order, and discipline in Wroclaw and the voivodship. The Voivodship Defense Committee passed appropriate decisions and resolutions regarding the matters discussed.

Urban Views Gdansk Violence

LD0405150388 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] PAP reports that the strike is continuing in the steel combine and that in the Gdansk shipyards attempts to widen the strike action are not ceasing. Here is a statement by Government Press Spokesman Jerzy Urban on this subject:

[Urban] In the Nowa Huta rolling plant, which is on strike the deputy director of the combine, (Kotula), attempted to get production started with a group of workers who wanted to work. When preparatory work started, 20 people under the influence of the strike committee raised bottles and said to their colleagues that if they start work they will be beaten up. Apart from this, a demand was made that the management of the combine should leave the building.

More drastic events occured today at the Gdansk shipyard and here it is typical [word indistinct]. At about 0600 today it was said at the second gate where the group representating the illegal strike committee is standing that they are assuming power in the shipyard. Next, two groups of 70 people each were organized to go round the departments, to production halls, announcing that they are assuming power and demanding a stop to work—because the work in many sections of the shipyard is going on. Here the following formula was used: Stop work or else the noose, the pit [kanal], or out of the gate. These marches ended at about 0900. Then the group approached the building where the management is sited and shouted that they wanted to talk. The director of the shipyard issued a communique that, of course, nobody is relinquishing power in the shipyard and that the management continues to be in charge. Then these groups began to stop the traffic in the shipyard. There is traffic of cars, electric powered carts, tractors, etc., transporting materials from section to section. The people driving

these vehicles were thrown out and production materials were thrown off from the vehicles and attempts were made to force a work stoppage.

Drivers were dragged from their vehicles and again the expression: The noose, the pit, or else get out on the other side of the gates, was used. At approximately 1000 a group of 10 people approached the management building. They were not let in; a representative of the management came out to meet them and responded to their request for talks by saying that he will not talk with them.

At about 1030 preparations were made to try to occupy the building. At 1117 efforts were made to seize one of the administrative buildings near gate number 2. The person in charge of this unit refused to leave the premises and was told: We will be back and we will seize it by force.

Walesa and Gwiazda are on the territory of the shipyard. Walesa said that from now on he is in charge of the strike.

In connection with these events, this is what I want to say: We are dealing here with terrorist actions, threats to use force, and with the use of force. It is, above all, the persons who are now in charge of the strike, rather than the adolescents, threatening people with hanging or drowning, that bear responsibility for this.

Mr Walesa proclaimed he is in charge of the strike. Andrzej Gwiazda is by his side. The REUTER agency reported that Walesa had told them that he warns against a bloody revolution. This means he is losing the sense of proportion both in what he does and in what he says.

Violence runs counter to Polish traditions and culture. We will not permit anarchy to be created or relations to be brutalized. Both wild strikes are becoming degenerate and I warn that they are fraught with serious consequences. We appeal for both these strikes which have already become wild to be halted.

Miners Union Declares Wage Dispute

LD0405154388 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] At a meeting in Katowice, the presidium of the Federation of Miners' Trade Unions, assisted by representatives of the Central Committee and the party voivodship committee analyzed the payments situation in the mining industry.

Both last year and in the first quarter of this year, the index of wage rises in the mining industry was lower than in any other sector.

As a result of a discussion of the situation, the presidium of the federation has asked the Sejm speaker to speed up the work on the bill that sets out the principles governing the setting up of remuneration systems for work forces at individual enterprises, so that a Draft Council of Ministers' instruction can be worked out, defining the principles for applying the provisions of this bill as regards the mining industry's enterprises.

The presidium of the Federation of Miners' Trade Unions has decided to enter into a collective dispute with the government to gain wage rises commensurate with the real increase in the cost of living.

A three-man team has been appointed to embark on negotiations today.

Gdansk Management Orders Workers Out

LD0405152888 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] The strike is still continuing in the Nowa Huta metallurgical combine.

Several hundred employees are still continuing to blockade the entrance through the main gate to the Gdansk Lenin Shipyard. Several minutes before 1500 a communique issued by the shipyard's director general was issued. It instructs all persons on the territory of the enterprise to leave without fail by 1530.

Repeated attempts were made during the day to get the workers who were trying to work to stop working and join the strikers.

Vatican Radio on Overcoming 'Crisis'

LD0405162688 Vatican City International Service in Polish 1415 GMT 4 May 88

[Excerpts] On 2 May 88 the 227th Plenary Conference of the Episcopate of Poland met in Czestochowa, on Jasna Gora. [passage omitted]

The situation in Poland demands that formal considerations be set aside and that such joint solutions be urgently sought, which would serve the good of the whole nation.

The only way to overcome the country's crisis is a dialogue between the state authorities and representative social groups. According to general opinion, no government nor any political camp can solve the burning problems of Poland without the wide participation of society. All Poles should unite their efforts to achieve social agreement, which is necessary to restore to the nation conditions of normal development, and to rebuild a healthy economy and a state that has the trust of citizens.

The authorities must not be lacking in the courage to undertake the necessary reforms generally awaited by society. Society, on the other hand, must not be lacking in readiness for strenuous and honest work, and even indispensable sacrifice for the good of the whole of the nation. [passage omitted]

Unauthorized Warsaw University Rally

LD0405163288 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1515 GMT 4 May 88

[Excerpt] A rally took place at midday today at Warsaw University without the approval of the university authorities. Some students took part in it. The organizers of the rally demanded a rise in grants and subsidies for schools and education. The speeches referred to the situation in Nowa Huta and Gdansk. Only students were allowed in. Our team was not allowed. Did the students have anything to conceal?

A considerably large group of passers-by gathered in front of the university gate. They commented on the situation in the country with concern and fear. [passage omitted]

Agreement Signed at Pafawag Factory

LD0405165288 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] A meeting of the workforce and Employee Council of the Pafawag rail freightcar factory in Wroclaw with the management was held shortly after the end of the first shift, Managing Director Edward Blaszczyk said. They were briefed on the results of talks concerning the demands submitted by the workforce representatives on Tuesday.

Specific ways and dates of implementing the suggestions submitted by employees were established in a signed agreement.

Steelworkers Hold Plenary Meeting

LD0405174988 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 4 May 88

[Excerpts] A plenary meeting of the party's Factory Committee began at 1530 today in the steelworks combine in Nowa Huta on the current socio-political situation at the steelworks. Here is a telephone report from our correspondent Wojciech (Adrian):

[Passage omitted] A discussion full of pain and bitter words began. Employees from the departments included in the strike are speaking. They say: Is the law equal for everyone, or more equal for those who continue to have repeated guarantees of immunity, and for those who want to but cannot work. They are submitting specific examples and they relate many situations which lead them to such conclusions. One of the engineers, who asked to remain anonymous, from the car body sheet rolling mill, told the story day by day of the strike there. He asked many questions, which no one in the chamber knew how to answer. Why wasn't the strike extinguished when it was kindling, when it was still very easy to do so? Why is it so easy for people to come into the area of the combine who are not employees of the steelworks, and why are they allowed to stay here for so long? Why didn't anyone help the people who wanted to work? Why were they left on their own in fear? These are the accusations which are being made in the chamber where the plenum of the party's Factory Committee is meeting.

'Majority' of Shipyard Workers Leave

LD0405183488 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] At Gdansk Shipyard, a communique by the shipyard's chief director was broadcast ordering that all employees inside the shipyard must absolutely leave by 1530. The majority of the employees left the shipyard. Groups of strikers remained at the shipyard gates, however, despite the director's instructions.

Shipyard Employee Council Statement

LD0405184588 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 4 Apr 88

[Statement given to station reporter by Jerry Bukowicz, chairman of the Employee Council of the Gdansk Shipyard, date not given—recorded]

[Text] The Employee Council of the Gdansk shipyard at its meeting on 3 May, taking into account the extraordinary situation at the shipyard declares the following:

First, irrespective of the motives and possibly justified reasons, the work stoppage that lasted for a dozen or so hours, of the workforce of 11,000 has already caused the loss of the manufacturing capacity of more than 100,000 man-hours. This is an irretrievable loss. In the situation of tight deadlines in ship construction, and particularly B-674/a for a Netherlands ship owner, it can constitute a serious threat to the fulfillment of the sales plan for the first half of the year, which, even without these problems, has been smaller than the credit and payment needs.

Second, the interests of the shipyard are endangered, including credit and financial interests, as well as economic interests. One cannot count on more than one's own work. There will be no miracle. The council emphasizes yet again that we are experiencing a financial tragedy. Its result is insolvency in relation to our suppliers. This causes delays in ship construction and delays in sales.

Delays in sales decrease the inflow of foreign currency, and the circle closes. Money is not the only thing concerned, however; we are losing credibility as a trading partner. It can soon happen that the demand for our production will fall. What will we do then?

Third, the Employee Council thinks that the balance of losses should be closed. We express the conviction that this will allow the backlog to be made up, if we begin this process immediately.

Fourth, in the event that making up the losses becomes impossible, the employee council, recognizing the responsibility it bears, will be forced to examine the possibility of beginning the procedures envisaged in Article 11 of the Act on Improving the Economy of State Enterprise and its bankruptcy.

Fifth, the Employee Council supports the efforts of the shipyard's director to restore work to normal.

Port Cities' Record Work Figures

LD0405202988 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2000 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] The ports of the tri-city [Gdansk, Gdynia, and Sopot] are working at an intensified pace.

The chief dispatcher of the commercial seaport in Gdansk has reported that the dockers are 9 days ahead of schedule with the annual transshipment plan. Last Monday was a record, when 159,000 tonnes of cargo were transshipped, i.e. almost three times the average daily norm.

'Fighting Solidarity' Leader Deported

LD0405212888 Hamburg DPA in German 2056 GMT 4 May 88

[Excerpt] Warsaw (DPA)—The leader of the banned Polish organization "Fighting Solidarity," Kornel Morawiecki, was deported to Vienna on Wednesday. He had arrived in Warsaw on a valid passport from Frankfurt in the early afternoon and had been taken into custody by security officials at the airport. A few hours later he was put on a LOT plane bound for Vienna. [passage omitted]

Krakow Workers Urge End To Strike

LD0405220088 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Employees of the Krakow Soda Works sent an open letter today to the work crew and management of the Nowa Huta metallurgical combine. In the document, which was signed by the party factory committee, the independent self-governing trade unions, the Workers Council and the management, the work crew of (?Solwaj) directs to Krakow metallurgical workers a strong appeal to take up work and renew the supplies of sheet and steel.

Strike Rumors at Rudna 'Pure Rubbish'

LD0405220588 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] The information spread by Radio Free Europe and the sensation-hungry gossips in Poland about strikes in the Copper Basin are pure rubbish, declared Stefan Piwonski, deputy chairman of the Federation of Trade Unions of Miners.

Yesterday, in the Rudna copper mine, a group of some 300 miners took protest action, demanding first of all the adjustment of wages to the real work contribution of miners. [passage indistinct] after which the protesters dispersed.

The mine worked normally, fulfilling the daily extraction plan.

Today at Rudna, a special negotiating group started work. At around 1400, an agreement was unanimously concluded, ending the strike. The strike demands were sent for general resolution to the Federation of Trade Unions of Miners.

PAP Notes 'Patience' of Authorities

LD045220988 Warsaw PAP in English 2111 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 4: For more than a week now, the strike in a number of workshops of the Lenin steel mill at Nowa Huta as well as shorter incidents at other plants have been making major headlines of reports by Western news information agencies and have been the focal point of broadcasts by Polish-speaking radio stations in the West.

No one expected the commencement of practical application of the second stage of economic reform to be a rose-draped period. The Polish authorities did foresee this, and in keeping with the results of the public referendum, they embarked upon a more piecemeal implementation of economic transformations.

It is worthwhile to recall here yet again that the reforms were considered indispensable also abroad, a proof of which may well serve opinions by experts from international organizations and by those American politicians who visited Poland in the recent months and who held talks on the subject.

The Polish authorities are displaying both patience and a maximum of good will as they negotiate, in all the cases, the realism of talks as well as about all circumstances under which the postulates are made.

It was discerned by some Western correspondents too, which can be sufficiently borne out by a May 3rd dispatch of the Associated Press (AP) that reported about appeals of the Polish authorities to be reasonable and about the strikers being told that Poland had no more money to spend. The poor condition of Poland's economy, the AP wrote, is evident. The agency went on to say that the government had announced it would defend the programme of reforms.

Not all, however, reports and statements on this subject are characterized by objectivity. Some seem to be at least equivocal. For instance, on May 2 the spokesman of the U.S. State Department stated that they support Polish renewal and are ready to assist effective reforms. But

assistance of this kind is possible only in case when the difficult and necessary economic changes will have the support of a broad spectrum of Polish society.

Western observers, American inclusive, know the situation in Poland. They know that the strikes which have occurred, despite the great efforts for things to stand differently, are isolated. Polish society does not lend an ear to either leaflets, or the addresses of professional agitators in Poland, or the calls aired by subversive radio stations.

The results of public opinion polling in Warsaw on the strike situation, quoted by PAP today, speak for themselves. Also the stance of the Episcopate of Poland, taken in the communique made public today, go to show the concern caused by the situation which arised and an understanding of that which lies in the interest of Polish society.

In this situation, questioning the stance of a majority of Poles towards the strikes has nothing in common with an objective assessment of the sentiments of Polish society.

These propaganda activities are aimed at exactly one goal: the destabilization of Poland. And this can make one ask: Is this not a matter of forces which wish for the Western side to have the trump of the deteriorating situation in Poland during the upcoming Moscow summit.

Transport Officials, Workers View Accord

LD0405223888 Warsaw PAP in English
2126 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Lodz, May 4—Activists representing municipal transport enterprises from all over the country met here on Wednesday with signatories of an agreement which had been signed last April 30 and which ended a collective dispute, namely representatives of the federation of trade unions of municipal transport workers and of the Ministries of Transport, Shipping and Communications and of Finance.

Discussed were details of the document which deals with two basic issues, that is summary activities which secure the proper financial situation of enterprises and the announcement of changes in the economic-financial system of municipal transport enterprises, the latter issue being the most important one. The enterprises in question employ over a total of 84 thousand people.

A special team started its activity at the Transport Ministry on Tuesday to work out the draft of such a system till the end of next June. It will be consulted with unionists, and its final version will be effective as of January 1, 1988 [as received]. Participants in the Lodz meeting have already contributed many detailed remarks and suggestions to the team's work.

"Talks which led to the signing of the agreement were difficult," Franciszek Wieladek, undersecretary of state at the Transport Ministry, and Wieslaw Gicel, chairman of the federation of trade unions of municipal transport workers, told PAP. "However, the agreement could be achieved owing to the fact that the talks were held by sides equally interested in possibly best condition of enterprises and their crews," they added.

Gdansk Shipyard's Tax Problems

LD0505011188 Warsaw PAP in English
2213 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 4—The Gdansk shipyard is in a difficult economic situation which stems from, among other things, many elements limiting access to new credits and gaining permanent financial stabilization.

The shipyard also has arrears in taxes totalling over a billion zlotys which have not been paid to the state budget. Also, other industrial plants in the coastal region and nationwide are also experiencing similar difficulties.

In connection with this, the revenue office in Gdansk intends to issue an order of execution to the shipyard to pay such a high tax arrears, according to vice director of the office Franciszek Ruchniewicz.

Under the law in force in Poland every Polish enterprise is obliged to pay appropriate taxes to the state budget. Such is the case in all states, stated Ruchniewicz.

The shipyard's debt consists of two kinds of arrears: taxes for the last two months of last year and advance payments for the four months of this year. On December 18, last year, the shipyard applied to the revenue office in Gdansk for a prolongation of the deadlines of income tax payments and taxes on wages for November and December 1987. The revenue office in Gdansk, in a letter written May 3, this year, did not consent to a postponement of the tax payments. The shipyard was not the only one to receive a negative answer. Nearly all applications for postponements made by the plants of the Gdansk coast were rejected.

Nowa Huta Committee Discusses Strike

LD0505032688 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
2100 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] The factory party committee held a meeting at the Metallurgical Combine in Nowa Huta today. After a discussion devoted to an assessment of the reasons and course of the strike action in some departments of the combine, the committee adopted a stand in which it presents a political assessment of the events. It will be submitted to Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and disseminated among the work force.

The party organization of the steelworks states that it has done everything in its power to diffuse the conflict in the combine, but its efforts have not produced the appropriate effect so far.

Steelworkers Mark Metallurgists Day

LD0505045688 Warsaw PAP in English
2217 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Katowice, May 4—The Day of Metallurgist was traditionally celebrated in Poland on May 4. Representatives of the steelworks "Katowice," "Florian," "Labedy" and "Bobrek," located in the upper Silesian region, spoke today about their achievements and tasks at occasional meetings.

Last year was another period of favourable results for the crew of the Katowice Steelworks, it was stressed at a gala meeting.

The 1987 performance made it possible to increase pays by more than 5,900 zlotys on the average against 1986. At present negotiations with the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union of the Katowice Steelworks workers are under way on possibilities of further increase in wages.

Present at the meeting was alternate member of the PUWP CC Political Bureau and first secretary of the PUWP Katowice Voivodship Committee Manfred Gorywoda.

Participants in a gala meeting organized at the Kracow Lenin Steelworks today expressed their concern over the situation in their enterprise.

Positively assessing the enterprise's production and economic results last year, Chairman of the Workers' Council Zbigniew Czyzewski stated that such performance had been possible thanks to the crew's devoted work as the process of considerable depreciation of the steelworks' assets had been taking place.

The psychological condition of the crew was also negatively influenced by the lack of clear legal regulations enabling the enterprise to more freely shape its pay system. The financial situation of workers worsened in the conditions created by the reform, which, among other causes, resulted in the current crisis. The Workers' Council appealed to the crew to stop strikes.

General Director of the Lenin Steelworks Eugeniusz Pustowka said that in the situation when systemic solutions secured means only for cushion measures this year, the enterprise's management asked the authorities to allow it to apply new solutions enabling the steelworks to achieve additional, tax-free pay means. Decisions which were made last April 26 let promptly inform the crew on new principles of the pay policy in 1988 which envisage pays increased by 50 percent against 1987.

PAP on 'Perfidy' of Western Press

LD0405184988 Warsaw PAP in English
1705 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 4: With what purpose have Western mass media launched an incredible propaganda campaign about latest developments in Poland. Why do the Polish-speaking Western radio stations continue to heat up strike moods, while certain governmental declarations are seconding them.

The purpose behind all this is more than obvious. While the world is advancing towards detente, certain forces in the West are trying to turn Poland into an instrument of anti-detente policy.

It is common knowledge that a bitter fight persists in the world between these forces which desire to establish international relations upon new foundations, in the spirit of detente and by fulfilling the aspirations of mankind to remove the threat of nuclear war, and those who still want to pursue their policy from the position of strength, to escalate the arms race and, as a result, to push humanity over the brim of catastrophe. With all their cynicism, those cold-war forces want to push Poland into the midst of this anti-detente stream.

Steel-mill or shipyard workers are not aware of that purpose, but strike organizers are better than well aware of whose interests they represent. And this is why one must say loud and clear that strike organizers are not bothered by the economic reform, that they do not care for solving difficult pay or social problems of the working people, and that in fact they represent non-Polish interests.

Their point is to block the processes of development of democracy, civil freedoms, economic reforms, renewal and restructuring that have been initiated and are being developed in socialist countries. As a matter of fact, this direction of development of socialism gives grounds for uneasiness of reactionary forces in the West as well as of opponents of renewal and reforms in Poland.

Their perfidy consists in exciting the working people and entire Polish society with pseudo-democratic and pseudo-reformatory slogans, and, at the same time, in pushing towards confrontation. Their greatest desire which they mean to attain irrespective of costs is to achieve a clash, a conflict in Poland. Their idea is to have Poles go for one another's throat.

It is perfidious that they call for acceleration of reforms in Poland, while they actually use all their strength to slow them down. They appeal for improvement of living standards and for stepping up the rate of economic growth, while at the same time they stage strikes, disturb law and order, and set production back. All this is not to the advantage of Poles, the majority of whom have already seen through the objectives of this political power-play.

PAP on VOA 'Open Subversion'

LD0405222688 Warsaw PAP in English 2122 GMT 4 May 88

["Voice of America — Example of Open Subversion" — PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, April [month as received] 4 — Kornel Morawiecki, an activist of "Solidarnosc Walczaca" (Fighting Solidarity), which gathered terrorist equipment in Poland, is eager to join the striking workers in Nowa Huta. In Rome, before he puts his plans into effect, he granted an interview to the Voice of America radio station in which he left no doubt as to his program of action in the coming days and more distant future. The American radio station aired this interview in Polish at 21.00 hrs, May 3.

Morawiecki goes straight to the crux of the matter, stating without beating about the bush: "'Solidarity' strikes are called for. The point is for all large plants to strike and support the key socio-political demands...one must not stop at only coercing higher wages, be it even big raises..."

Morawiecki does acknowledge that "the ruling team...even tries to improve something." Nonetheless, the leader of "Solidarnosc Walczaca" confesses outright: "I would even dare say that this upheaval could lead to a change of the current authorities..."

Morawiecki regains his senses for a moment and adds: "...Bringing down the political system is our long-term goal but I do not cherish illusions that this is possible at the moment..."

Under the federal law of the U.S. the Voice of America cannot be aired to the United States. Under the federal law of the U.S. programs of this kind are earmarked for listeners in Poland.

Daily Examines Press Reports

AU0405185188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 May 88 p 5

[Waldemar Mickiewicz article: "Polish Dilemmas—In the Face of a Trial..."]

[Text] "After a long time, Poland has reappeared in the front pages of the West German press. Unfortunately, this is no cause for rejoicing. Public opinion is likely to be uninspired by an unreliable debtor and an uninteresting trade partner, and an increasingly less important political partner. Such a partner will only find himself on the front pages if the permanent crisis turns into a conflagration." That is how the BBC's Bonn correspondent describes Poland's "return" to the front pages of the West German press.

The fact that this is not an isolated opinion is clearly shown by a dispatch by WALL STREET JOURNAL correspondent Barry Newman, who precedes a report from Gdansk by a commentary from Prof Jan Szczepanski. Szczepanski says that the Poles "have two ways out of the crisis, one of them natural and the other one a miracle. The natural way out is for a group of angels to come down from heaven and heave Poland into prosperity. The miracle, however, involves the Poles heaving Poland themselves!"

What has happened to make dramatic tones reappear in reports about Poland? Two "wild" strikes in an attempt to force wage increases, of course. But if one were to ask about the economic sense of these strikes, the answer might be banal and straightforward: There is no economic sense.

Even a specialist like Lech Walesa admits as much in an interview for the "Voice of America":

"Look, sir, we are in a terrible dilemma. As Lech Walesa the private person...I think these people are definitely right, that they have to make demands because they can't make ends meet. But at the same time, as Lech Walesa, the chairman of a trade union that does have its own economists...I think, and I say so with regret, that this road is leading nowhere." And further on: "...I am afraid that we are heading further and further toward this short channel of struggle and pressure, pressure that may achieve something in the short run, but in the long run must make everyone think again."

And indeed—what can printing and paying another few thousand zlotys to strikers and to everyone else achieve?

Many of us have not subscribed and still do not subscribe to the idea of a radical, one-time price hike to revive the ailing economy. But if I believe that if this price hike has already been carried out and is meant to profoundly reform the economy (and from the point of view of market equilibrium this price hike was essential), then canceling out the effects of this price hike by forcing wage rises that are not connected with economic results is an act that leads the economy and the reform to disintegration. It is tantamount to blocking the reform.

This is no "theory"; it is harsh economic reality. And yet the postulates contain not an ounce of economics. Instead, judging from my assessments of social moods, they contain a sea of intranquility.

ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE [ECONOMIC LIFE] recently published data based on Main Statistical Office data, from which it emerges that, despite the certain increase in the purchasing power of wages since 1982, all groups of employees in the state sector (including those in the budgetary sphere) have suffered a several-percent drop in the purchasing power of their wages since 1980. This

is a factual backdrop for the "theories"—proof that a feeling of being threatened, a feeling of social degradation, as Miroslawa Marody writes in the latest POLITYKA, is justified.

But what of it? We have an economy, no matter what state it is in. Of course, one could print and pay extra money. One could even add a little "ideology". But the naked truth remains as it was during the Bydgoszcz dispute, namely, that an enterprise has to "work" for wage increases. How? It can increase its costs. It can increase fares. And, if these methods do not work, then the voivodship must make financial cuts, and that is the most difficult method for society to accept. It is not out of the question that these cuts will also affect local investments in the health service, communal services, and education, because there might not be any other way out. Only this way can one obtain the extra funds with which to finance what is postulated.

Attack and defense are the easiest things to do. But understanding is more difficult. A few days ago, while having a new kitchen cupboard fitted, I had to take part in a conversation about a "bad" system and "bad" government. However, my interlocutor had brought everything he needed for the job—tools, pipes, and spare parts—from his cooperative, and was performing it during so-called "working hours," and for 3 hours of his time he demanded Z5,000 without batting an eyelid. For working on the side.

So what system is he complaining about? The system described in the laws and regulations? Or the system he is helping to create by working on the side? What government does he object to? The kind that forbids this activity? Or the kind that is incapable of preventing practices like this?

But these are not rhetorical questions. They are also addressed to the government.

A choice was made many years ago, in 1981. It was based on the need for an economic reform, a reform meant to bring about the situation where the market and the principle of money that is hard to come by would determine the available financial resources and the standard of living.

Unfortunately, although much has been achieved since then, the most important matter has not been achieved. No consumer-oriented market has been created. The result is that the providers of services—state and private producers—are not so much competing with each other as reaping maximum profits. They have no regard for costs and do not care about satisfying demand. For demand always exceeds supply, thus creating enormous fortunes for speculators, while at the same time the market "accepts" the extravagance of state and private firms. Prof Zdzislaw Sadowski [in charge of the economic reform] was right when he said in "Monitor Rzadowy" [Government Monitor, a TV slot for government affairs] that incomes, including wages, have risen even faster than prices in the first quarter. This is merely pushing us further away from the economic game, from market forces.

However, it is not only a lack of political strength that permits the continuation of a greater "flow" of money onto the market than is economically viable. This state of affairs is also the fault of our passionate habit of "cheating the economy." After all, that is the real purpose of the freeze on investments (even a ban on the simple reactivation of production potential) that took place during the drastic economic collapse on the threshold of the 1970's and 1980's, and which threatened the country's development prospects.

Now people abroad are saying that Poland is "living beyond its means," first of all thanks to the credits it received in the 1970's, which it was unable to repay, and then at the cost of economic development (between 1982 and 1987). To this I would add that this "living beyond one's means" occurred during an unheard of and unprecedented paradox—during a drastic fall in production. We shortened the working week, at a time when the natural reaction should have been to extend it. At the same time as production fell, we lowered the age of retirement, even though elementary logic said that we should have held on to reserves. And now, when we realize that the working week in rich countries such as the FRG or Japan is 40-42 hours per week and in impoverished countries like Poland it is only 34-36 hours, all we can do is shrug.

And what comes of all this? Not much. But the fact is that society's aspirations in Poland are at the same high level as in the most developed countries of the world, those whose per-capita national income is three or four times as high as in Poland, while the economic possibilities of satisfying expectations are as low as could be.

Poland's "living beyond its means" is a description contained in the illustrious report by the World Bank experts and also in an IMF report last April. They are demanding that we cut consumer aspirations and social benefits even more, that we restrict that which our government and party are defending in a dramatic struggle to preserve the level of consumption and social benefits. Apart from suggesting a freeze on investments in the coal industry, the World Bank suggests that we abandon the program of school and hospital construction, and even the second stage of building the Warsaw subway, to say nothing of the nuclear energy program. Furthermore, the World Bank suggests — and this is meant to be a measure of Poland's credibility — a stronger devaluation of the zloty and a higher foreign trade surplus. Quite simply, the bank calls for a sharper curb on demand and supply, because a trade surplus that is even greater than restrictions on market supplies means nothing else but that.

At the same time, the postulates the IMF addressed to Poland call for an economy that is heading toward domestic equilibrium, in other words, toward a policy of money that is "hard to come by." This does not apply just to enterprises and wages, but also to all the population's incomes, including profits from private farming or from the private sector in cities. For not many people realize that wages in the public sector and budgetary sphere constitute only one half of all incomes.

That is also why, when calling for a freeze, the IMF experts do not mean just wages, but also other forms of income. Of course, we have our own politics and we do not blindly follow guidelines from World Bank or IMF experts. But that does not mean that their analyses and emotionless views should be ignored. Perhaps we should pay greater attention to them than we have done.

Analyzing the results for the first quarter and taking into account public feeling, one would like most of all to cite the law and the institutional measures contained in the reform, as Deputy Premier Zdzislaw Sadowski did in his interview for MONITOR RZADOWY. But it seems that we are now in period in which convenience is valued more than the fate of the economic changes that have only really just begun. So, it has to be clearly stated that the wage raises that were extorted at the Voivodship Transportation Enterprise in Bydgoszcz, the strikes at Nowa Huta, and the threat of a strike at Stalowa Wola are simply illegal and constitute a violation of existing laws.

I am an economist, and I will not indulge in further thought on the subject of the law. However, there is something else that I would like to stress, namely, that the two strikes, which broke out at the very beginning of an economic turning-point and at the beginning of the process of shifting the economy over to the tough laws of the market, are causing the country so much damage that it is even difficult to know how to measure its extent.

As Western press agencies have reported, Prof Zdzislaw Sadowski's trip to the United States is no longer on. He was to have held talks with the World Bank and with people who direct American foreign policy and are influential in running the economy (perhaps someone wanted this to happen?). This is all the more unfortunate, because a new fabric of understanding has just emerged on the subject of slackening the currency noose in which our country has found itself.

The latest press agency reports indicate that the West is keeping its distance. It is waiting to see what will happen in Poland next. The speeches that are made at meetings in our country are only of interest to Western propaganda-makers. Bankers, industrialists, and businessmen are only interested in production. And if one of them reads reports on a rally, descriptions of strikes, he knows that there will be no production, no trade, and so there will be no credits, commercial transactions, or mutual material advantages. In the eyes of the West, this is not a forecast that will encourage people to slacken Poland's "noose" of debts.

Thus, emotions and unrest have gone beyond the boundaries of the law, democracy, and economic thinking. Although we "went over" this kind of lesson not so long ago, it seems that some of us have managed to forget it. Are we to find ourselves in an absurd vicious circle once again? Even if we do not, what is going to happen?

It is really tragic that such ruthless efforts to push Poland into an economic blind alley are being made once again and that we are once more appearing on the front pages of the world's press in such a disgraceful light.

Stoppages Continue, Strikers Arrested 5 May

'Actions' Taken To End Steel Strike

LD0505070688 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] The prolonged strike in some of the sections of the Nowa Huta combine has caused great losses to the national economy. The aggressive attitude of the organizers of the illegal strike made it impossible to resolve the conflict and to set production in motion.

This morning, actions were taken which make it possible for the management to manage the combine and to make all sections of the Lenin steelworks in Krakow work.

Security Forces Enter Nowa Huta Plant

AU0505070688 Paris AFP in English 0702 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 5 (AFP)—Polish security forces moved in on the strike-bound Nowa Huta steelworks on Thursday, arresting all the members of the strike committee, the national radio said.

It said the move was made because of the "large losses" to the Polish economy caused by the strike by 16,000 workers, which started on April 26.

Meanwhile the management of the Gdansk shipyards in northern Poland, which has been occupied by strikers since Monday, said work was at a complete standstill there "for an indefinite period".

The management used the radio to tell morning shift workers Thursday not to turn up.

The shipyard is surrounded by a strong force of police with up to 10,000 workers, including banned Solidarity trade union leader Lech Walesa, inside.

DPA Reports Use of Force

LD0505084388 Hamburg DPA in German
0814 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Nowa Huta (DPA) — Special units of the Polish police used force to break up the strike in the Nowa Huta Steelworks early on Thursday and arrested at least a part of the strike committee, which consisted of 19 members. Workers reported that the police forced down the works gate No. 2 at 0200 Central European Summer Time. In order to panic the strikers they had caused a great deal of noise with their batons and had penetrated the halls in which the strikers were located. the members of the strike committee had been suprised in their sleep.

Several members of the committee apparently succeeded in escaping in the general confusion. Workers claim to have seen strike leader Andrzej Szewczuwaniec early in the morning at 0600 still in the enterprise grounds. The strikers offered no resistance to the special units of the police. According to reports from workers however, panic broke out in many halls. Anyone who ran away had been roughed up with batons.

In one hall the police, according to eye witness reports, told the strikers to kneel before a cross. In another hall strikers had to lie down. The police had complete lists of the workers with them and had made each individual sign as to whether he wanted to work or not. Practically all of them succumbed to the pressure and signed. After 2 hours the special units of the police left the towks at about 0400.

It is not clear how many leaders of the strike were arrested. Among them is certainly the former head of the trade union Solidarity in the works, Mieczyslaw Gil. The Priest Tadeusz Zaleski, who was among the strikers during the night, was arrested and released again after a few hours. What became of strike leader Andrzej Szewczuwaniec, was still not clear in the early hours. Four members of the committee were seen in the morning.

It was not clear in the morning what had happened in the early shift. Dozens of police vehicles were seen driving to the works. Workers reported that around 2,000 colleagues had marched to the gate. Strike leader Szewczuwaniec is said to have asked the workers to assembly outside the enterprise near a church. [passage omitted: background]

The workers showed themselves to be very bitter about the development of the situation and felt betrayed. The mediators commissioned by the bishops were supposed to have taken up their negotiations again on Thursday. Works director Eugeniusz Pustowka had assured the chairman of the strike committee on Wednesday evening after his talks with the mediators, that he was making direct negotiations with the strikers dependent on the decision of the headquarters in Warsaw.

AFP Reports Strikers Beaten, Gassed

AU0505100188 Paris AFP in English
0951 GMT 5 May 88

[Excerpt] Warsaw, May 5 (AFP) — Polish security forces fired tear gas and beat up strikers, injuring a number of them, at the Nowa Huta steelworks in southern Poland, following a dawn intervention there, local medical sources said.

Riot police were battling strikers six hours after anti-terrorist brigades first entered the steelworks to arrest all the members of the strike committee, sources said.

A number of strikers resisted the "zomo" riot police, sources added.

Eyewitnesses said the police went in at three a.m (0200 GMT) as the strikers were awaiting the arrival of a church mediation mission to resume negotations on their demands.

Within half an hour the first strikers were leaving the works accompanied by large numbers of police. They were said to have offered no resistance.

The radio said the move was made because of the "large losses" to the Polish economy caused by the strike by 16,000 workers, which started on April 26.

Meanwhile the management of the Gdansk shipyards in northern Poland, which has been occupied by strikers since Monday, said work was at a complete standstill there "for an indefinite period".

The management used the radio to tell morning shift workers Thursday not to turn up.

The shipyard is surrounded by a strong force of police with up to 10,000 workers, including banned Solidarity trade union leader Lech Walesa, inside.

All entrances to the shipyards were blocked, while some 2,000 people had gathered outside the plant Thursday morning just beyond the police cordon. [passage omitted]

Lenin Shipyard Activities Suspended

LD0505072988 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
0700 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] The director of the Gdansk shipyard has taken the following decision; in connection with the situation which has occurred which makes it impossible for the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk to function normally, its functioning is herewith suspended until further notice. Workers who do not strike will be on paid leave for this period. I appeal to all those who work on the first and second shifts not to come to work, starting from today,

that is 5 May. Employees who are required for the functioning of essential equipment will be appointed and informed by the management separately.

[Signed] Director of the Lenin Gdansk Shipyard, Czeslaw Tolwinski.

Walesa Present at Gdansk Shipyard

LD0505083388 Hamburg DPA in German 0551 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—Workers' leader Lech Walesa was in the Gdansk shipyard early on Thursday together with the striking workers. According to sources close to him, the communique from the director on the closing of the shipyard had been read out again and again to the strikers since 0230. Police and security officials were standing in front of the shipyard gates and distributing leaflets with this order to all workers who wanted to come to the shipyard.

Strike 'Serious Threat to Reform'

LD0505084888 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Here is a commentary by Jerzy Kowalski:

A commentator must reveal his attitude. A serious threat to reform has occurred, to our only economic hope. So much depends on an efficient econmy.

It is not difficult to foresee the economic future: Production will decrease, prices will increase, the zloty will lose even more in value and the economic rules will be overthrown by these elements; the market will be impoverished, exports will decrease, debts will grow faster, the quality of life will be worse. Some groups will feel richer for a moment, others, from whom it will be taken away, will become poorer contrary to the laws of social justice. A few years of working, after the start, will be wiped out. Thirty one million people will return tothe begining—just like after an earthquake or a fire. Who, and with whose help, will begin again to lift Poland to the European standard and partnership with the world?

The director of the large steelworks announced: There will be no sanctions for perpetrators of the losses running into many billions. Even if this is true, the sanctions will appear by themselves. There are no winners in this bargaining. There will be only losers: Citizens of a country which cannot enter the undisturbed road of development.

TRYBUNA LUDU on Strikes

LD0505090188 Warsaw PAP in English 0805 GMT 5 May 88

[Text] Warsaw, May 5 — "It turns out that people from outside the gate want to become involved at all costs in workers' disputes with employers," writes today's TRYBUNA LUDU in an article headlined as above. Elaborates the daily:

"These are the people due to whom seven years ago we lived through the difficult lesson of chaos and disorganization of economic life. At the point where jumping over factory fences begins, the economy and law end, giving way to tough political struggle. In this case it is not the wage increases of several thousand zlotys that matter, but political pressure, further illegal pressure.

"For would Jan Rulewski, on April 25th during the municipal transport company strike in Bydgoszcz, have taken pains to enter the bus depot otherwise. [sentence as received] In line with the crew's wishes he was barred from entering the depot.

"Another candidate for the leadership of the former "Solidarnosc" is Andrzej Gwiazda, who two days ago entered the Gdansk shipyard again. Previously he would say: 'We must simply put more pressure to bear.' After the failure in the past he is repeating exactly the same thing this time.

"Next comes Mieczyslaw Gil who, with a small select group of people, is trying to lead the strike is some of the departments of the metallurgical combine in Nowa Huta. In November 1981 as Solidarnosc chairman in the combine, he was the co-author of a strongly-worded memorandum to the government demanding the creation of a so-called social council for the national economy, which, in the name of the then Solidarnosc, was to take over the powers of the legislative and executive branches of the government."

"Such 'visits' entail, unfortunately, the transformation of talks about vital interests of the workers, wages, compensations, working conditions, into political demands formulated in the first place and, first of all, the legalization of the political structures of the former Solidarnosc.

"Pay rises become pretexts for the people outside the gate. It is only a pretext for them, just another opportunity to start actions weakening the socialist state.

"Jacek Kuron, Janusz Onyszkiewicz, Zbigniew Romaszewski — several years ago well-known names of the chief animators of destruction, are again the leading advocates of Polish unrest on Western media waves. What about Mr Walesa. He is supposed to have a sick leave but his health permits him to lead a strike in the Gdansk shipyard, again play the role of the economy's brakeman.

"The same names, the same people, the same slogans and attempts to involve the youth. It is possible to should very loudly and write in capital letters: 'down with communist system,' 'Bolsheviks go to stiff-house,' 'down with Yalta,' and about a hundred others.

"But Poles and Poland will not have a better life from this striking and rallying. This may at the most improve the mood of the frustrated people outside the gate. At someone else's cost.

Solidarity Spokesman Arrested

AU0505091688 Paris AFP in English 0844 GMT 5 May 88

[Excerpt] Warsaw, May 5 (AFP)—The spokesman of the outlawed Solidarity trade union, Janusz Onyskiewicz, was arrested at dawn Thursday by police at his home here, informed sources said.

Nine of the 13 members of Solidarity's National Executive Commission (KKW) have been arrested since Monday.

In total, some 400 people have been detained over the past four days, opposition sources said. [passage omitted]

Industry Minister Interviewed

AU0505100888 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 May 88 p 2

[PAP report: "Disturbing Effects of the Strikes — Minister Jerzy Bilip on the Situation in Industry"]

[Text] On 2 May, the main edition of the television news carried an interview with Industry Minister Jerzy Bilip. A television news reporter held this interview at the Office of the Council of Ministers, where the Government Presidium had met to discuss the economy's supply of fuels and energy. This topic was also the first topic of the interview.

[Bilip] We discussed the situation with fuels and energy in 1987, among other things. As we know, in the final quarter of 1987 the situation with fuel oil was difficult. This year's 800,000 tonnes increase in imports of this oil has completely normalized the situation, and the current stocks are sufficient to let us manage our fuel calmly.

[TV Reporter] That is good news, but right now everyone wants to know what is going on in the Nowa Huta combine [the Lenin steelworks].

[Bilip] As minister of industry, I cannot remain indifferent to these affairs because they are starting to affect industry and the entire economy. For example, the "Polkolor" and "Polar" plants are in difficulty. Each day of production means 1,100 refrigerators and 1,900 freezers. This means Z270 million worth of production and about Z50 million in profits. I cannot agree with concentrating on just one factory, one steelworks. I have to act on the scale of the country's entire industry.

[TV Reporter] Does that mean that a part of the workforce's expectations will not be met?

[Bilip] If we wanted to meet the demands of the striking workforce, we would have to spend Z17 billion a year on wages for the workers in the steelworks. In the whole of the steel industry, this would be about Z100 billion. If we wanted to meet the demand that the steelworks director cannot meet—the trade union demand for a Z6,000 rise above the figure which he has now set aside for wages—the result would be wage rises of Z150 billion for the whole of industry, and for the whole country—for the country would not sit quiet if we gave the steelworks a wage rise, but would also want a wage rise— it would be about Z600 billion. This would lead to completely empty shelves within a year.

This Z600 billion is several times more than the amount of money in the structural alterations fund for this year. Right now there are Z20 billion in this fund, but they should go up to Z100 billion by the end of the year.

These figures cannot be compared. The demands simply cannot be met. One must clearly say that it is against the second stage of the reform. One cannot settle the affairs of just one plant. They have to be systemic solutions, and these are the only solutions we can talk about. There is no question of a collapse of the reform; the government is absolutely determined to make the second stage of the reform proceed smoothly and achieve its planned effects.

Press Reportage on Bulgarian Minister's Visit

Orzechowski on Bilateral Relations

AU301733 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 Apr 88 p 4

[Interview with Marian Orzechowski, minister of foreign affairs, by Boris Dankov, RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent, in Warsaw—date not given]

[Text] Boris Dankov, RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent in Warsaw, asked Comrade Marian Orzechowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and PPR minister of foreign affairs to answer a few questions on Poland's foreign policy and on Polish-Bulgarian bilateral relations.

[Dankov] Esteemed Comrade Orzechowski, can you describe the chief trends of Poland's foreign policy in recent years?

[Orzechowski] Foreign policy is always implemented within the framework of given foreign and domestic conditions. I stress this, since in recent years Polish diplomacy has been obliged to act under exceptionally dynamic and complicated circumstances.

In the beginning of the eighties, trends toward confrontation prevailed in the policies of the United States and the other NATO countries. Against the background of deteriorating foreign policy conditions, domestic difficulties emerged in Poland. The leading NATO states tried to take advantage of this fact to weaken our country and isolate it internationally. Under such circumstances, our diplomacy was aimed at protecting our country's interests against the West's policy of sanctions and economic pressure. Based on the growing normalization and stabilization of our country's internal situation, and relying on the socialist community's support, with increasing confidence we resisted the efforts to minimize Poland's role in European policy.

The second half of the eighties produced a decisive change for the better. Poland's presence in international relations increased. These changes were mainly based on the consistent implementation of the policy of socialist innovation and reform adopted by the Ninth PZPR Congress and further pursued by the 10th PZPR Congress. Our active work was favorably influenced by the improved foreign policy conditions. I have in mind the initial results of the policy conducted by the Soviet Union and aimed at changes in East-West relations—a policy based on new political thinking—and the establishment of a "common European home" along the path of cooperation among all countries and peoples in Europe. The restructuring process in the Soviet Union, which is revolutionary in its essence and coincides with the goals of Polish innovation, has received our full and wholehearted support.

It is more than evident that the qualitatively new changes in international policy that were inspired by the restructuring process are assuming even greater significance. The steps toward peace by the Warsaw Pact, the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, and the positive changes in the European political situation are, above all, an expression of this.

This is the basis on which Polish foreign policy should be evaluated. This policy resulted in the consolidation of Poland's role within the Warsaw Pact and in a gradual restoration of our country's international prestige and authority. Poland's position in the European dialogue on questions of disarmament, security, and cooperation has been restored.

[Dankov] Can you describe Poland's contribution to the general process of detente?

[Orzechowski] Our country has always devoted energetic efforts to the disarmament sector and to the development of peaceful cooperation among states, regardless of their sociopolitical systems. This refers to the European Continent, and is determined by Poland's geographical situation and by our people's historical experience. Within the past few years, we resolutely opposed the trends of confrontation that contributed to the destabilization of East-West relations.

Within the framework of the Warsaw Pact, we participated in the development of the European disarmament program and in the specific peace initiatives stemming from it. I have in mind the documents adopted at the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee sessions held in Budapest and Berlin.

Years ago we submitted our own original plan that envisages the limitation of armaments and the improvement of confidence in central Europe—a plan known as the "Jaruzelski Plan." This comprehensive proposal contributes to the intensification of the dialogue based on the principles of the mutual security of European countries under the complicated political conditions. We are just now concluding our work in connection with the development of the aforementioned plan and are assessing the results of the talks held with the interested countries.

We are engaged in extensive political activities within the framework of the CSCE, and are the initiators of the dialogue with the European Council, with the purpose of developing mutual relations throughout the continent as a basis for all-European cooperation based on security and stability.

[Dankov] How do you evaluate the cooperation among CEMA member-countries and the opportunities for this cooperation to develop?

[Orzechowski] The levels of our bilateral cooperation are different. As far as Poland is concerned, it is natural for our strongest economic relations to be with our neighbors—the USSR, the GDR, and the CSSR.

The greatest resources, in our opinion, exist in the sphere of our multilateral integration. The successes we have achieved to date can by no means satisfy us. The most recent years have produced better opportunities for relations of partnership in our cooperation. I am talking about the fact that this cooperation has been freed of formalism and a new field of integration has been opened up on the basis of stable economic principles.

To put it frankly, we cannot easily accept that our past economic cooperation with the socialist countries has been satisfactory. Its forms have been too traditional and its dynamic pace too slow. Production sharing and specialization are developing too slowly. The new forms of cooperation on the basis of direct production and scientific-technical cooperation between enterprises are being introduced with difficulties.

We think that a drastic change for the better in cooperation between our countries is hardly feasible without the introduction of crucial changes in the financial-economic mechanisms of this cooperation. It is necessary to adopt the legal means that will guarantee the elimination of shortcomings and mistakes. The last, the 43d, (extraordinary) CEMA session considerably accelerated the implementation of numerous innovative decisions.

[Dankov] How do you evaluate the development of Bulgarian-Polish cooperation?

[Orzechowski] In anticipation of the 40th anniversary of the signing of the first Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance between the PPR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria, signed on 29 May 1948, I would like to stress the great progress of our socialist cooperation. The exceptionally favorable political atmosphere that has prevailed in recent years in our mutual relations definitely exerts a positive influence on the prospects for the development of our friendship and cooperation.

A factor that is an incentive in this respect is the cooperation between the PZPR and the BCP. An exceptionally important role for this development was played by the meetings and talks between our two leaders—Wojciech Jaruzelski and Todor Zhivkov. The interparty commission is also acting in a positive way. Its third session was held in January 1988.

We positively evaluate our cooperation in the field of interstate and intergovernmental relations. We also positively evaluate the links between our two parliaments, as well as between our two countries' trade union, social, and youth organizations. An interesting experiment in this respect is represented by cooperation between Polish voivodships and Bulgarian oblasts, and between towns and enterprises in both countries.

Our economic cooperation is developing fruitfully. In 1987 the exchange of goods between Bulgaria and Poland exceeded R1 billion for the first time. Satisfaction with the recent successes, however, cannot conceal the still existing shortcomings. We are faced with the great task of developing specialization and production sharing, as well as direct production and scientific-technical cooperation between enterprises and scientific institutions.

The agreements in connection with the plan on cultural exchange for the 1986-1990 period are being successfully implemented. In 1987 we organized a Days of Bulgarian Culture in Poland, and a Days of Polish Culture in Bulgaria will take place in the very near future.

Direct contacts and links between higher educational institutions and creative unions are developing as well. Our mutual tourism is constantly increasing.

[Dankov] How do you evaluate the prospects for further developing cooperation between the PPR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria?

[Orzechowski] The prospects for the development of Polish-Bulgarian relations have already been mapped out. I am talking about work on the cooperation program between the PZPR and the BCP in the area of the superstructure. The draft of this document has been agreed on and determines the priority trends of our economic and scientific-technical cooperation for the period up to the year 2005. Our experts' work on documents that will determine the principles of creating joint enterprises and scientific-technical units is being continued.

Decisions have been adopted to amend the work of the Polish-Bulgarian Joint Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation. These decisions are aimed at developing this commission in accordance with the requirements which the new stage of the two countries' economic development and the positive changes in multilateral cooperation within CEMA have created.

In the field of international relations, both Poland and Bulgaria resolutely and actively support the peace-loving initiatives of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact. Along with this, both of our two countries are making their own contribution to the process of reducing confrontation and improving the political atmosphere in Europe. I would like to take advantage of this occasion and express my gratitude to our Bulgarian friends for supporting the "Jaruzelski Plan," and, along with this, to declare our total support for the activities of the People's Republic of Bulgaria aimed at establishing a nuclear and chemical weapons-free zone in Europe. I also would like to express recognition to Bulgarian diplomacy for its contribution to the successful work of the Belgrade conference of foreign ministers of the Balkan countries.

Orzechowski Dinner Speech

AU0305140288 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Apr 88 p 4

[Speech by Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski at a dinner in honor of Bulgarian Foreign Minister Petur Mladenov in Warsaw on 28 April]

[Text] Once again I welcome you and your entourage, Mr Minister. I welcome you as a representative of the Bulgarian people, to whom the Polish people are joined by a similarity of actions and objectives and by fraternal, traditionally close, and friendly ties.

The achievements of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, its cultural development and progress in science and education, enjoy the esteem and recognition of the Polish people.

We are monitoring with great interest the implementation of the 13th BCP Congress program involving transformations to and a restructuring of sociopolitical and economic life, and changes in the system of running the state and to the development of socialist democracy.

The line of renewal, struggle, and accord that was proclaimed by the 9th PZPR Congress and reaffirmed by the 10th Congress is of momentous importance for Poland. Despite the difficulties, we are consistently implementing the sociopolitical and economic reform program because there is no viable alternative to it.

The profound changes in Poland and Bulgaria are our contribution to accelerating the development of the entire socialist community. The common denominator of these changes is to provide socialism with a shape and countenance that will permit the fullest possible satisfaction of our peoples needs and aspirations and our honorable participation in the modern world's social progress. The revolutionary restructuring in the Soviet Union, which is spreading to more and more spheres of life there, is of particular importance in this process. Imbued with a Leninist spirit and encouraging the construction and development of socialism in the Soviet Union, this restructuring is, at the same time, serving to heal international relations and create a climate in Europe and the world that is conducive to socialism.

We are pleased with the favorable development of Polish-Bulgarian relations. The approaching 40th anniversary of the conclusion of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance is accompanied by a desire to intensify existing forms of mutually advantageous cooperation in all spheres and establish new ones.

The close ties between the PZPR and BCP are a factor which inspires the development of relations between our states and peoples. We attach major importance to the current preparations for a two-party program of cooperation concerning the economic superstructure. This will permit an even more efficient exchange of experiences in socialist construction.

We will continue to expand our mutual knowledge of history and of our societies' modern achievements. This we will do by means of cultural exchanges and better information about the problems besetting the Poles and Bulgarians today. Constantly developing social contacts, including well-organized mass tourism, should help our young generations get to know each other better.

Last year, trade between Poland and Bulgaria exceeded R1 billion for the first time in history. This result is pleasing, but at the same time it shows how great the objective possibilities of economic cooperation still are. They are inherent in coproduction, specialization, and direct production cooperation between enterprises, none of which is practiced very boldly. Cooperation in science and technology presents many chances. This involves a restructuring of the work of CEMA and the need to adapt the process of economic integration to today's requirements.

We said at the Sofia Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers Committee session that the world now has the chance to halt the arms race, achieve progress in disarmament, and eliminate politics from a position of strength from international relations. The historic Washington agreement will fulfill the hopes vested in it if it leads to further disarmament measures. The idea voiced by some Western circles about compensation for the elimination of nuclear weapons is disturbing. We hope the Moscow summit will bring important decisions. In particular, I wish to underline our firm support for the CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's stance on the need to urgently conclude an agreement involving a 50 percent reduction of the strategic weapons of both superpowers.

We believe that a respect for the territorial-political reality established in Europe after World War II is an indispensable condition for peace and cooperation in Europe. We are determined all the time to oppose any attempts to undermine this reality, which might threaten security and peace on our continent.

We are in favor of reducing the level of military confrontation and continuing the CSCE process. We are in favor of a peaceful and cooperative Europe, a Europe that overcomes its divisions. This is the very purpose of the Jaruzelski Plan—a comprehensive proposal to reduce armaments and increase confidence in central Europe.

Poland highly values and unchangingly supports Bulgaria's activity aimed at creating a nuclear and chemical weapons-free zone in the Balkans. We welcomed with major satisfaction the results of the Balkan foreign ministers' conference in Belgrade. Progress in creating good-neighborly relations and cooperation in the Balkans is a major factor in peaceful cooperation in all of Europe.

Just like the remaining socialist states, Poland remains in favor of consolidating the cohesion of Warsaw Pact international activity, in keeping with our common line of conduct. A consistent implementation of collective actions and initiatives serves the interests of the entire community and all its members. We are in favor of enriching and improving the functioning of existing and newly created Warsaw Pact structures.

Mladenov Dinner Speech

AU0305134488 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Apr 88 p 4

[Speech by Bulgarian Foreign Minister Petur Mladenov at a dinner in his honor given by Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski in Warsaw on 28 April]

[Text] On behalf of my wife and myself, I wish to thank you for inviting us to visit your country and for the warm welcome. Thank you, Comrade Orzechowski, for your kind words about the BCP and the Bulgarian people.

Our talks are penetrating and full of substance. They are proceeding in a climate of honesty, mutual trust, and complete consensus of views on all the matters under discussion.

Bulgaria and Poland are cooperating with each other in a wide spectrum of problems concerning the international situation.

However, peace and security and a concern for the peaceful and calm future of our peoples and the whole of mankind continue to be at the center of our attention.

And thanks to the new political thinking with which the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist states is imbued, the prospects appearing before mankind are better than they were yesterday.

The Warsaw Pact states are countering the stereotypes and dogmas of the past by means of a concept of balanced interests and equal security, by means of a vision of a united and interdependent world in which historically shaped political systems will meet the challenges of today, and coexist, and compete with each other.

The idea which lies at the roots of our concept is making its way painfully, but successfully. The conclusion of the agreement to eliminate intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear missiles is convincing proof that our policy is realistic. A world without nuclear weapons should and can exist. The first step toward destroying nuclear arsenals has been made, and today it is above all necessary to act constructively and consistently for further steps in this direction and for the conclusion of future agreements between the Soviet Union and the United States.

The Warsaw Pact member states are determined to work in this spirit. The recent Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers Committee session in Sofia showed the high political responsibility by which our states are guided in solving global and European problems.

We believe that the complexity of the situation in Western Europe and the opposing trends there indicate that a reevaluation of reality and an adaptation to the new international climate are taking place. There is no doubt that both Soviet-U.S. dialogue and the initiative and energy of the socialist countries have played a major part in the formation of this process.

Against this background, we hail the initiative that has become known as the "Jaruzelski Plan" to reduce armaments and increase confidence in central Europe. We believe this plan is a good basis for dialogue on the subject of security in this most heavily armed part of the continent. We also value the PPR's contribution toward perfecting the work of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria considers security to be indivisible, and supports and works for disarmament and detente from the Atlantic to the Urals, from the icy Arctic to the Mediterranean. As a southern European country, Bulgaria is keenly interested in a reduction of the military potential in the Mediterranean, and supports Mikhail Gorbachev's Belgrade initiative.

Our country is taking an active part in consolidating good-neighborly relations and confidence in the Balkans. Together with the other Balkan states, we are the initiators of the idea to free our peninsula of nuclear and chemical weapons, to free it of tactical nuclear missiles.

I can say with satisfaction that at last month's Balkan foreign ministers' conference in Belgrade, everyone—without exception—confirmed a desire to continue political dialogue for the sake of permanently transforming our geopolitical region into a territory of peace and security.

However, in our common European home, security problems are more and more clearly connected with political, economic, and other problems. The path to solving them leads via a consolidation and enhancement of the process that was started in Helsinki. In particular, the solution of these problems lies in the adoption of a Vienna final document, according to the principle of parity, and in adding to this process new meetings and contacts between the signatories of the Helsinki Final Act.

We perceive the issues we are discussing today in the context of enhancing Bulgarian-Polish friendship and cooperation.

The talks and meetings between the leaders of our parties and states, Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Wojciech Jaruzelski, play an important role in the development of our cooperation.

I am convinced that I speak on behalf of both countries when I say that our cooperation is developing favorably in all spheres and that it is our joint intention to impart new substance to them in response to the increased needs of our times. These needs are forcing us to make a more painstaking search for undiscovered and unused possibilities of even closer contacts and joint activity in economy, education, and culture.

The restructuring and socialist renewal in the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the PPR, and their fundamental conformity to the revolutionary restructuring being implemented by the CPSU provide the basis to express the conviction that our cooperation will be given new, effective forms and that it will enrich the practice of socialist construction.

Communique on Visit

AU0205140888 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Apr-1 May 88 p 7

[PAP report: "The Minister of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria has Completed His Visit to Poland—Communique"]

[Text] At the invitation of Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Politburo member and PPR minister of foreign affairs, Petur Mladenov, BCP Politburo member and foreign minister of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, paid an official visit of friendship to Poland on 28 and 29 April.

The Bulgarian foreign minister was received by Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR first secretary and PPR State Council chairman. He also met with Zbigniew Messner, PZPR Politburo member and PPR Council of Ministers chairman; and Sejm Marshal Roman Malinowski.

The Polish and Bulgarian foreign ministers briefed each other on the work in Poland and Bulgaria involving the creative shaping of socialist construction processes by introducing new forms and methods of socialist construction and consistently reforming economic life. The ministers underscored the fact that the paths of socialist renewal and transformation in Poland and Bulgaria correspond to the processes of restructuring in the USSR. They said that broad sectors of society in both countries fully approve of the transformations in the USSR, which are imparting new dynamism to the idea of socialism and making it more attractive and effective.

Petur Mladenov and Marian Orzechowski expressed satisfaction over the development of comprehensive Polish-Bulgarian relations. They stressed that the enhancement of traditional friendship and cooperation between Poland and Bulgaria serves the interests of both peoples, serves to improve activity within the Warsaw Pact framework, and consolidates the unity and cohesion of the community of socialist countries. They emphasized the great importance of the meetings between Wojciech Jaruzelski, PZPR first secretary and PPR State Council chairman; and Todor Zhivkov, BCP general secretary and chairman of the Bulgarian State Council, for a thorough enhancement of relations between the two fraternal socialist countries.

Broad cooperation between the PZPR and BCP plays a major part in developing Polish-Bulgarian relations. It includes the work of the PZPR-BCP Interparty Commission, which respects both parties' search for the most effective means of socialist construction.

Both ministers spoke out in favor of improving cultural and scientific cooperation, plus cooperation between the mass media. This is so that both countries may learn of each other's history and contemporary problems. They stressed that direct social contacts should be expanded and tourist exchange improved for greater closeness and a better acquaintanceship between both states.

Expressing satisfaction over the favorable development of economic cooperation, the ministers said that, in order to develop this even more, the more resolute introduction of modern forms such as direct production cooperation and joint ventures is required. The agreement on direct cooperation in production and technology between Polish and Bulgarian organizations and enterprises provides the basis for the attainment of these objectives. Bulgaria and Poland are in favor of a faster and more resolute adaptation of the work of CEMA to the changes under way in the socialist countries.

The ministers exchanged views on international issues. They stressed with satisfaction that the new political thinking initiated by the Soviet Union is bringing about positive changes in the international situation, especially in East-West relations.

The ministers noted the historic significance of the treaty to eliminate intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, which has confirmed the realistic nature of the Soviet program to eliminate weapons of mass destruction by stages by the end of this century. This program also permits a consolidation of European security and paves the way to gradual arms reductions. NATO's plans to "compensate" for the forthcoming elimination of American nuclear missiles by modernizing and expanding the conventional and tactical nuclear weapons potential remains contrary to these trends and to the basic security interests of nations.

Given that the continuity and effectiveness of the disarmament process and the attainment of concrete accords in all areas of this process are of particular importance right now, Poland and Bulgaria stressed the priority importance of the conclusion of a U.S.-USSR agreement to halve their strategic nuclear forces, while observing the treaty to reduce antimissile defense systems in its 1972 form, and maintaining it in force until the agreed time limit. They expressed hope that the forthcoming Gorbachev-Reagan summit in Moscow will contribute to further progress in reducing and eliminating nuclear arsenals.

The ministers pointed out that, together with other socialist countries, Poland and Bulgaria will unchangingly strive to perform the priority tasks on permanent security that are contained in the appeal to NATO and CSCE countries adopted at the recent Sofia meeting of the Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers Committee.

Marian Orzechowski and Petur Mladenov declared themselves in favor of a 1988 start on talks on reducing conventional armed forces and armaments in Europe. They believe that during these talks, the existing asymmetry and imbalance on a European and regional scale ought to be removed according to the principles of reciprocity. It is important that armed forces and armaments, including dual-capability weapons systems, be reduced. The ministers underscored the importance of

the Warsaw Pact proposals on open exchanges of data on the numerical status of armed forces and armaments between the Atlantic and the Urals.

Both sides reaffirmed their commitment to the reaching of accords on the whole complex of political, military, economic, ecological, and humanitarian matters discussed at the Vienna CSCE meeting.

They stressed that respect for the territorial-political reality in Europe established after World War II, a close observance of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states, and strict adherence to the universally recognized principles of international life are a prerequisite for the preservation of peace and security in Europe. Any attempt to question this reality and its inviolability will continue to encounter the utmost opposition. The ministers pointed out that the work of revisionist forces and support for revisionism wherever they occur is contrary to the interests of detente and security and is against the appropriate multilateral and bilateral agreements, including the Helsinki Final Act.

M. Orzechowski and P. Mladenov stressed the importance of closely coordinating the peaceful foreign policy of the Warsaw Pact states to achieve a radical breakthrough in international affairs. In this context, they indicated the importance of effective action based on the 1987 Berlin meetings of the Political Consultative Committee, Multilateral Mutual Current Information Group, and Special Disarmament Commission.

The ministers of foreign affairs said that the implementation of the proposals contained in the Polish plan to reduce armaments and increase confidence in central Europe, and the idea of a nuclear-and-chemical-weapons-free zone in the Balkans, toward which Bulgaria is striving, would serve to improve the military-political situation in Europe and consolidate the security of all states. Both sides stressed the great importance of the proposal that Mikhail Gorbachev presented in the SFRY to consolidate stability and develop cooperation in the Mediterranean basin.

Marian Orzechowski and Petur Mladenov hailed the results of the Balkan foreign ministers meeting in Belgrade, noting its contribution toward reducing tension and creating a climate of good-neighborly relations and mutual understanding in the Balkans. Both ministers welcomed the Geneva agreement on a settlement of the problems relating to Afghanistan. This is the first concrete example of the application of the new political thinking to regional conflicts. It provides an internationally legal basis on which to cease outside intervention and permit a continuation of the process of national unification in Afghanistan.

The foreign ministers of Bulgaria and Poland spoke out in favor of the United Nations Organization's assuming a greater role and greater effectiveness. Stressing the particular significance of the forthcoming third special UN General Assembly session on disarmament, they pointed out that one of this session's primary tasks should be to work out a platform at which to accelerate disarmament and create a universal system of international peace and security in compliance with the socialist countries initiative.

The talks, which took place in an open, warm atmosphere, revealed a complete consensus of views on all the topics that were discussed.

Petur Mladenov, foreign ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, invited Marian Orzechowski, foreign minister of the PPR, to pay an official visit of friendship to Bulgaria. The invitation was welcomed.

Ceausescu Reports to PEC on Foreign Policy

AU0405121688 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0912 GMT 4 Apr 88

["President Nicolae Ceausescu on International Questions"—AGERPRES headline—at a meeting of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee, on 29 April in Bucharest]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 4/5/1988—We should firmly put to work the principles of our policy of strengthening the cooperation and solidarity with all the socialist countries, take action for their closer unity as a condition for the successful construction of socialism in each country, for the growing force of attraction of socialism worldwide. We are strengthening our ties with the developing countries in their fight for progress, against imperialist and neocolonialist rule and oppression. At the same time we should expend our relations with other states on the principles of equality, respect for national sovereignty and independence, noninterference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage, the observance of each people's right freely to develop as it wishes. It is in this spirit that I want to underline that firmer action is needed, in the spirit of our party and country's position, in our cooperative relations, in the CMEA, the Warsaw Treaty and various joint organisms and commissions, in our international relations in general, that a more militant picture should be given to our internal and international socialist construction and peace policy and work.

As concerns the international questions, starting from the fact th serious and complex problems persist in the world, we must take most resolute action and bring all the forces together in order to solve them, to achieve disarmament, nuclear first and foremost, to liquidate the nuclear weapons, to reduce military spending. I must say that I was greatly pleased to see that in the international relations—during this year's visits as well—Romania's policy of peace, cooperation and economic and social development enjoys a high appreciation.

This, however, requires that we work better in domestic as well as in foreign matters, not to let down our people and our friends abroad, precisely because the achievements in socialist construction and the policy of each socialist country are in effect a direct contribution to the general cause of progress and peace, to a better and more just world.

Further we must be more concerned with the world economic problems, with those of the developing countries in particular, and work jointly with the other socialist countries to give a stronger support to the settlement of these problems. We will have to step up our activity and insist on peaceful negotiated solutions as the only way out of interstate conflicts and disputes. Of course what I have in mind is primarily the Middle East, the early calling of an international conference on that question.

As concerns the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, I think we should welcome them and the decision to withdraw the Soviet troops from Afghanistan. As a matter of fact, Romania is well known to have regarded the very entrance of Soviet troops into Afghanistan as a mistake, and we have always declared for their withdrawal. We discussed those matters with the Soviet comrades more than once.It should be said that the recently-concluded agreement raises a number of tough problems, as Afghanistan must cope with situations that did not exist ten years ago. And it is our view that a political settlement should also ensure the democratic and independent development of Afghanistan. Practically speaking, conditions in Afghanistan today are far more difficult than at the time when the Soviet troops entered there. An end must indeed be put to all outside intervention as well as to all support to the opposition forces; the Afghan people's independence should be observed and also its right to solve its own problems, to make sure that it develops as it wishes. Our country favours a progressive democratic development of Afghanistan on the socialist path and, in this spirit, we will strengthen our cooperation and solidarity with Afghanistan.

We also favour a political solution in Nicaragua. We welcome the underway process that should end all intervention of the United States of America and ensure the people of the Republic of Nicaragua an independent development on the path of progress.

Furthermore, we are for a political solution in Kampuchea. We discussed the matter also with the Vietnamese comrades and we came to a common conclusion, namely that national reconciliation should be achieved and the Vietnamese troops be withdrawn from Kampuchea. We have backed the halting of all foreign intervention in the territory of Kampuchea, the development of a democratic, independent, neutral and nonaligned Kampuchea. The Vietnamese comrades said they would withdraw their troops before 1990 should a political settlement be achieved.

It is in this spirit that we favour the settlement of other conflicts, provided the starting point is always a firm respect for the right of peoples to independence, to free development, the exclusion of interference in the domestic affairs.

More general conclusions can be drawn from all this. These conflicts have been a strong argument for the justness of the Marxist thesis against the export of revolution and of counterrevolution. In effect, the Soviet troops in Afghanistan did hardly help Afghanistan on the path of socialism; on the contrary, they stimulated the growth of the counterrevolutionary forces which led to the situation today. Nor were the Vietnamese troops of help in Kampuchea where they brought damage and hardship; and unfortunately it was not only those countries that were harmed, but also the prestige and principles of socialism in general. Similarly, the American

intervention in Nicaragua, and other countries show that the counterrevolutionary forces cannot stop the peoples' fight for independence, that Nicaragua and other peoples defend their liberty, the way to a free and independent development, notwithstanding the superiority of interventionist forces.

I think that what we must emphasize in our ideological, political work, is precisely the demand for an end to interference in the internal affairs, to military intervention for good and all, and for the observance of the right of peoples to decide their development. However, I must say that this does not mean renunciation of the solidarity with the progressive anti-imperialist forces. But solidarity does not mean military intervention—we must say this loud and clear. We supported and will continue to support the peoples fighting for national independence, for economic and social progress, to make sure that they can build the society they wish. This is an essential line of our international policy of solidarity with all the anti-imperialist forces.

We are firmly for the strengthening of our relations with the communist and worker parties, with the socialist parties, with the social democratic parties, with other democratic and progressive parties and forces. We must more strongly emphasize in our international activity, in our propaganda, the justness of our party's activity, the demand for the strengthening of international solidarity, including through international or regional meetings or conferences of communist parties on the basis of the new principles of equality that should rule out all interference in the affairs of other parties.

Great changes are taking place in the international life. And, like in all essential changes in the balance of forces, in the development of mankind, all kinds of ideas, of confusions emerge, including expressions of mistrust in the forces of socialism, in the development of society on the path of social freedom, on the path of independence. This is not new in world history, not in the Marxist revolutionary age and not in the course of development as a whole. And this necessarily requires that we thoroughly study and analyze the big changes and draw our conclusions. But we must always start from the revolutionary principles and outlook on the world, confidently put the actions for progress, for peace in perspective. This also calls for a militant stance against various wrong ideas. We must be more active in exposing the imperialist, reactionary propaganda, the whole activity of shadowing or slandering the achievements of socialist countries, which brings out in bold relief the shortfalls or negative aspects but hushes up the great accomplishments of these countries. Let us pursue a high-principled international policy in the settlement of all problems in the interest of peoples starting from the fact that disarmament, the problems of the new economic order, the setting of relations on a new democratic basis can only be achieved with the participation of all the states of the world, whatever their size or social system.

We must bear in mind the fact that there are deviations—theoretical as well as practical, rightist as well as leftist. Of course, all are equally dangerous. As a rule, extremism, whatever its shade, does not help a just resolution of problems. However, in my opinion, it is the rightist deviations that are most dangerous now, for they can greatly harm socialist construction, the fight for disarmament, for peace, for general progress. Hence, the demand for a firmer position in our ideological and political-educative work. These circumstances call for an intensification of the ideological activity—nationally as well as internationally—for a powerful assertion of the revolutionary outlook on the world, of the principles of scientific socialism that social practice, the practical work of socialist construction, and the new conclusions of the knowledge and development of society in general made richer and will continue to make them so [sentence as received].

We must emphasize always and strongly the important role of the working class, of farmers, the ever more significant role of intellectuals in the general development of society, but then also the role of the masses, of peoples.

We must all the time stress the justness of the scientific thesis concerning the role of the masses, of peoples as true makers of development, of world history. So, when we speak about the new political thinking—that should assert itself—we must strongly underline the principles on which it should be set, the basic changes that should be made in international relations, in the international policy and that should always start from the complete elimination of interference in the domestic affairs of peoples, from the ensurance of economic and social progress, of the independence and sovereignty of peoples. It is only on the basis of clear principles—and I think that our ideological and political work ought to concentrate more on these matters—that world thinking and practice could be changed, new thinking and a new practice be achieved in international relations. We must confidently look to the future of mankind in connection with the demand to liquidate the nuclear weapons and the arms of mass destruction, to develop independently, to ensure all world nations peace and progress.

In this spirit, I think we must analyze our international activity and take firmer positions.

Nicolae Constantin Gives May Day Speech

AU0305160188 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 1 May 88 p 3

["Speech by Nicolae Constantin, member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee at the Festive Meeting Devoted to May Day" held in Bucharest 30 April]

[Text] Much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, much esteemed Comrade Elena Ceausescu, esteemed comrades, dear guests from abroad:

All our people are celebrating May Day, the international day of the working people, in an atmosphere of intensive patriotic fervor, of great revolutionary enthusiasm and creative upsurge, and in complete and close unity around the heroic and glorious Communist Party and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, ingenious strategist in building the comprehensively developed socialist society in Romania, enthusiastic patriot and front-ranking militant of the International Communist and Workers Movement, and prominent figure of the present-day world. (loud applause, cheers, ovations; chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!")

We are celebrating Labor Day in an atmosphere of unanimous involvement and great creative emulation in our work and struggle to unflinchingly implement the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and the RCP National Conference and the plans and programs for Socialist Romania's socioeconomic development. The excellent concepts and guidelines corroborated with clear-sightedness and great communist responsibility by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in his masterly speech yesterday at the meeting of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee inspire our entire party and people with new strength and energy in carrying on their work and raising socialist construction work in our homeland to a higher level. (loud, prolonged applause)

As a symbol of unity, solidarity, and fraternity with the workers class everywhere, May Day—for the Romanian Communists and for all working people in Romania—represents a great holiday honoring the glorious past of our people's struggle and sacrifices for freedom and a dignified life, and it is a happy opportunity to express legitimate pride in the great work that is being carried out in our country: socialism and communism. (applause)

In the period between the two wars, each May Day represented, for the Romanian proletariat and for our entire workers class, a day of asserting their unity and international solidarity and a day of struggle against exploitation, oppression, the fascist danger and the policy of territorial revision and expansion, and a day of struggle for Romania's independence, integrity, and sovereignty, and for peace throughout the world.

Among the events which, on the basis of undeniable facts, lend brilliance to these truths and testify to the profound involvement of our Communist Party in the country's political life and prove its decisive contribution to a new destiny for the Romanian people, a place of honor is held by the great antifascist and antiwar workers demonstration of 1 May 1939. As telling proof of the revolutionary upsurge, of the maturity of our workers class, and as an excellent chronicle of heroism, of patriotic devotion, and of the adherence of the Romanian Communists and antifascists to the great ideals of our people, the strong revolutionary action of 1 May 1939—in the preparation and progress of which Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Elena Ceausescu played a decisive role—marked a culminating event in the antifascist and antiwar struggle waged during that period by the people's masses led by the Communists for democratic freedoms and for the independence, sovereignty, and integrity of our country. (loud applause) Being the greatest and strongest activity in Europe that took place when nazism, the "brown plague" of those years, had become an imminent threat to the independence and integrity of many countries, including Romania, the great uprising of the Romanian proletariat constituted a fervent appeal to the workers class, the progressive forces, and all peace- and freedom-loving forces to unite in the struggle to achieve their legitimate desire to live in a better and more just world, free from the threatening specter of fascism and war.

The fact that this strong demonstration was headed by the eminent revolutionary and enthusiastic patriot, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, who affirmed himself as a great figure of the antifascist struggle to defend the integrity and sovereignty of Romania and other European countries, testifies to the great consequence of an exemplary life devoted, for scores and scores of years, to safeguarding peace, eliminating the threat of a destructive war, halting the anomalous arms race, and building a better and more just world. (loud applause) This lends more profound meaning and generates greater response to the current international steps taken by Socialist Romania and to the proposals, initiatives, and activities of the party secretary general and president of the Republic, our much beloved and esteemed leader, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. (prolonged applause, cheers; chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!")

The unity of action of the Romanian proletariat, strongly obvious almost 50 years ago, was excellently reflected by the accord on a United Workers Front between the RCP and the Social Democratic Party. Then it was announced to the entire workers class and Romanian nation on 1 May 1944—an act of historic importance in ensuring the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation—and at the February 1948 congress for creating the united workers party.

For more than 40 years, since our homeland turned into a country that ensures free work, May Day has been an excellent opportunity to review the successes achieved by our heroic people in their untiring activity carried out in a great revolutionary spirit and aimed at building their own communist destiny. Among the multitude of May Day inventories, those reflecting the great achievements in the past 23 years stand out, a period that goes down in our nation's awareness as the most fruitful in the country's history in terms of achievements, and a period which—with legitimate pride—our people call the "Nicolae Ceausescu Era." (prolonged applause, cheers, ovations; chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!" and "Ceausescu and the people!")

Under the influence of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's renewing thinking and revolutionary activity, in this dynamic period initiated by the Ninth RCP Congress, a

new, fresh, and creative spirit permeated all spheres of the work in building our socialist system. On the basis of a new, profound, fruitful perspective, and a strictly scientific foundation, we have reconsidered the whole problem of socialist construction by eliminating outdated patterns and cliches that used to stifle lively and creative thinking and the revolutionary spirit, thus broadly unleashing the great energy of the Romanian people and capitalizing more intensively on the great assets of progress and socialism. We further owe the party secretary general the formulation, application, and constant improvement of the system of revolutionary workers democracy in our country. We also owe him the profoundly humanist and scientific concept of socialist construction with the people and for the people. (loud applause)

The fact that has been imprinted as an undeniable truth in the awareness of the whole nation is that, in the past 23 years, all victories in building the socialist society in our country are indissolubly linked with the name, bold thinking, and untiring activity of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, hero among heroes of the nation, excellent leader, and intransigent revolutionary, who embodies the best virtues of the Romanian people and their ideals of equity and justice, of progress and prosperity, and the ideals of social freedom and national independence. On this occasion, we want to pay our most fervent homage, give all our love and esteem, and express our warmest feelings of appreciation and profound gratitude to him. (enthusiastic applause, cheers; chants of "Ceausescu-Romania, our esteem and pride!")

The Communists and all our people particularly appreciate the decisive contribution made by Comrade Elena Ceausescu, a front-ranking militant of our party and state, and a scientist of broad international recognition, to the corroboration and implementation of the great programs for our country's socioeconomic development, to the development and prosperity of Romanian science, education, and culture by also stressing the excellent activity carried out at home and abroad to achieve the most noble aspirations of our people for material and cultural well-being and for the broad affirmation of the ideals of peace, cooperation, and understanding among peoples in the world. (loud, lively applause)

Esteemed comrades, on this great May Day, Socialist Romania presents itself as a dynamic country in full progress with modern industry, advanced agriculture, a prosperous culture, and with important successes in all socioeconomic areas.

In the complex conditions of the world economy, our people have moved, with positive results, toward fulfilling the Eighth 5-Year Plan. In 1987—the second year of the 5-year plan—new and important achievements were accomplished in our homeland's socioeconomic development and in improving the standard of living and civilization of our whole country in general. In industry, commodity-production increased 4.5 percent through intensive development, while the largest grain yields ever known in our homeland's history were achieved in agriculture. Positive results were also achieved in the other areas of the economy. Scientific research, education, and culture developed—factors of particular importance in implementing the goals put forward by the 13th RCP Congress and the RCP National Conference.

As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed in his recent speech at the meeting of the PEC, on the basis of results achieved in the first 2 years of the 5-year plan and in current year, we can say that the plans and programs for our country's socioeconomic development are fully in keeping with realities and with the requirements for progress and development—on the basis of the most modern achievements of science and technology—of our socialist society, and in keeping with the requirement to constantly raise the level of civilization and culture, and the material and cultural standard of living of the Romanian people.

As in every year, May Day is an opportunity for great and enthusiastic creativity and sustained activity by all our people to fulfill the 1988 uniform national plan for socioeconomic development with high quality and efficiency. Acting with revolutionary devotion and self-denial within socialist emulation, in honor of May Day numerous working people's collectives throughout the country report new and important successes in the smooth and complete fulfillment of the itemized production, in commendably honoring the terms of the contracts concluded with foreign partners, and in implementing all plan provisions for the first 4 months of the current year.

Vigorously mobilized by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's guidelines and calls, and by the recommendations of inestimable theoretical and practical value made by the party secretary general at the recent meeting of the PEC, the Communists, all working people, those who create the material and cultural assets and the national wealth are firmly determined to constantly act with the greatest of responsibility and exactingness to fulfill all plan indicators, this year's plan provisions, and those of the overall 5-year plan. They must also act with responsibility and exactingness to implement the great goals put forward by the 13th RCP Congress to ensure our homeland's resolute progress toward ever brighter horizons of civilization and progress, and toward achieving the golden dream—communism in Romania! (loud applause)

On May Day, please permit me to convey, on behalf of and empowered by the party leadership and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, warmest congratulations to our heroic workers class, our wonderful peasantry, intellectuals, and all working people in our homeland for the results achieved in all activities aimed at the unflinching implementation of the great goals of our country's socioeconomic development in this period,

and to wish them fresh and increasingly greater achievements and accomplishments in their work and life. (loud, prolonged applause; chants of "Ceausescu and the people!")

Esteemed comrades, May Day, the day of the international solidarity of workers everywhere, is an opportunity for all our people to reaffirm their unanimous determination to do all they can to continue their active contribution to achieving the greatest desires of nations in the world: to live and develop in a lasting atmosphere of peace, understanding, and cooperation. The profoundly internationalist spirit of our workers movement is tellingly reflected in the RCP's and the Romanian state's foreign policy, masterly guided by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's guidelines and recommendations and by the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and RCP National Conference. It is an active and constructive policy, fully in keeping with the requirements for building the new system in our country and with the aspirations for freedom and independence, for the progress and prosperity of all Romanian people and, in fact, of all the other peoples. It is also in keeping with the basic norms and principles of relations between states, and with the realities and requirements of the present-day world.

The Communists and all Romanian people fully and unanimously endorse the intense activities, proposals, and initiatives pursued at an international level by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to strengthen the solidarity of our party with all progressive, democratic, and anti-imperialist forces everywhere, to develop Romania's cooperation with all states in the world in the struggle for socioeconomic progress and for peace, understanding, and cooperation. (prolonged applause, cheers; chants of "Ceausescu-peace!")

Our party and state firmly base their entire foreign policy on the principle of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, and mutual advantage, renunciation of the use or threat of force, and the peaceful and negotiated solution of any disputes between states. In the spirit of these principles, our party is constantly strengthening relations of cooperation and militant solidarity with all communist and workers parties and constantly acts to achieve a new unity within the communist and workers movement. This is based on the principles of full equality of rights and respect for each party's right to independently formulate its political line and revolutionary strategy and tactics in keeping with the specific conditions in its own country and without any outside interference.

Our party promotes a renewing and revolutionary concept on international solidarity. At the same time, it promotes relations—in various fields—with socialist and social democratic parties, with other democratic, progressive, and anti-imperialist political groups, with governing parties in developing countries, with national liberation movements, and with all the forces that struggle for independence, democracy, progress, and for peace and cooperation among nations.

Romania develops relations of friendship and cooperation with all the socialist countries, strengthens multifaceted relations with developing and nonaligned countries and, in the spirit of the principles of peaceful coexistence, Romania also expands its relations with developed capitalist countries and with all the countries of the world, regardless of social system.

The official visits of friendship that Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, together with Comrade Elena Ceausescu, paid to several countries in Africa, Asia, and Australia, which have concluded with particularly fruitful results and given a strong new impetus to the relations of friendship and cooperation between the Romanian people and the peoples in those countries, are a new and brilliant expression of Romania's foreign policy of peace and broad international cooperation. (Loud and prolonged applause). Likewise, these visits represent an outstanding contribution to promoting the cause of understanding and international cooperation, of detente, disarmament, and peace.

The nations of the world have forcefully acknowledged the highly significant contribution made by the president of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to asserting a new way of thinking and a new approach to the issues of war and peace, to achieving security in Europe, and to promoting the great cause of disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament. They also acknowledge the revolutionary boldness, courage, and steadfastness with which Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu presents the great danger threatening mankind in the era, as well as his initiatives and activities to eliminate the serious danger threatening mankind with the destruction of the conditions for life on our planet.

The particularly important contribution made by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to the struggle to eliminate underdevelopment—which affects the great majority of the peoples of the world—and establish a new international economic order, to find new and democratic solutions to the complex problems of our times, in keeping with the interests and the aspirations of peoples, and to build a better and more just world on our planet have been given an honorable place in the chronicle of these years.

Our whole nation celebrates May Day with enthusiasm and reiterates its unswerwing determination to spare no efforts in implementing the new and brilliant theses, ideas, and guidelines included in the recent speech made the the party secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, which are meant to ensure the appropriate fulfillment of all the tasks and objectives established by the 13th RCP Congress and the Party National Conference,

in order to raise Romania to new peaks of civilization and progress. (loud applause and cheers; chants of "Ceausescu and the people!")

At the same time, the Romanian people show their active solidarity with progressive and advanced forces everywhere, and express their belief that, by acting in unity and by continuously strengthening cooperation and friendship, peoples can give a new and democratic course to international events and can ensure the triumph of the policy of peace, disarmament, independence, and broad cooperation among all the nations of the world.

—Long live May Day—the day of international solidarity among working people everywhere!

—Long live our heroic and glorious Romanian Communist Party, led by its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu!

—Long live our wonderful nation, the enthusiastic builder of socialism and communism on the Romanian soil!

—Long may our dear homeland—the SR of Romania—live and flourish!

—May the policy of peace, friendship, and cooperation among all nations of the world triumph! (Loud and prolonged applause, cheers, and chants; prolonged chants of "Ceausescu-RCP!," "Ceausescu-the workers!" "Ceausescu-Romania, our esteem and pride!," and "Ceausescu-Peace!")

Ceausescu Receives USSR's Antonov

AU0405200488 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Today, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, received Comrade Antonov, vice chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, chairman of the Soviet side in the Romanian-Soviet Intergovernmental Commission for Economic, Technical, and Scientific Cooperation, the proceedings of which are taking place in Bucharest.

The guest conveyed cordial greetings to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu on behalf of Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and of Comrade Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu expressed thanks for the greetings and, in turn, he conveyed warm greetings and best wishes to Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev and to Comrade Nikolay Ryzhkov.

During the meeting, the sides emphasized the favorable relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries and people, which are continuously developing in the spirit of the summit agreements. The sides also stressed that the economic potentials of Romania and the Soviet Union show great possibilities for further developing and diversifying economic and scientific-technical cooperation, production specialization, and commercial exchanges on mutually advantageous bases. Within this framework, the sides noted the need to take action in order to find new ways to ensure the optimal implementation of the long-term program—signed at summit level—on developing economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the SR of Romania and the Soviet Union during the period up to the year 2000, and on increasing cooperation and the exchange of goods in the current 5-year plan period.

The meeting was attended by Comrade Stefan Andrei, deputy prime minister of the government and chairman of the Romanian side in the intergovernmental commission.

Yevgeniy Tyazhelnikov, USSR ambassador in Bucharest, also attended.

Ceausescu Receives U.S. Businessmen

AU0405203788 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Today, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania, received a group of U.S. businessmen, who represent more than 65 firms that have economic relations with Romania. The group is led by Robert Robertson, vice chairman of the Romanian-U.S. Economic Council and vice chairman of the organization American Businessmen For International Trade.

The meeting was attended by Comrades Constantin Dascalescu, Gheorghe Oprea, Manea Manescu, Stefan Andrei, Barbu Petrescu, as well as ministers, councillors, and experts.

Also present was Henry Clarke, charge d'affairs a.i. of the United States in Bucharest.

During the meeting a number of issues were touched on regarding the further development of economic cooperation and of commercial exchanges between Romania and the United States.

Robert Robertson, on behalf of the U.S. businessmen present, warmly thanked Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu for the reception and for the opportunity given to them to discuss concrete ways of and solutions for further increasing relations between Romanian enterprises and American firms and companies. During the reception, representatives of some U.S. firms took the floor and expressed their satisfaction with the way cooperation with the Romanian enterprises is carried out. They appreciated the quality and competitiveness of Romanian products.

Referring to the way in which further actions should be taken to develop these relations, the speakers stressed that both sides should make efforts to avoid the cessation of mutually granting the most-favored nation status, and noted that the U.S. businessmen will do all they can to find mutually acceptable solutions.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania, took the floor at the end of the meeting.

Ceausescu Message to Afghanistan's Najibullah

AU0205094888 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 27 Apr p 5

[Telegram by President Nicolae Ceausescu to Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan, on Afghan National Day]

[Text] To Comrade Najibullah, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and President of the Republic of Afghanistan, Kabul,

On the national day of the Republic of Afghanistan, the 10th anniversary of the April Revolution, I take pleasure in extending warm congratulations an best wishes for personal health and happiness to you as well as wishes for peace and prosperity to the friendly Afghan people, on behalf of the RCP Central Committee, the Government of the SR of Romania, the Romanian people, and myself personally.

I express the conviction that the relations of friendship and cooperation between the SR of Romania and the Republic of Afghanistan and between the RCP and the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan will further develop to the benefit and in the interest of our peoples and of the overall cause of peace and understanding throughout the world.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania

Message to Iraq's Husayn

AU0205140688 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 28 Apr 88 p 5

[Telegram by President Nicolae Ceausescu to Saddam Husayn, president of the Republic of Iraq, on his birthday anniversary]

[Text] To Comrade Saddam Husayn, General Secretary of the Arab Ba'th Socialist Party of Iraq and President of the Republic of Iraq, Baghdad,

On your birthday, I take pleasure in extending to you warm congratulations and best wishes for personal health and happiness as well as wishes for peace and prosperity to the friendly Iraqi people.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania

Soviet Magazine Tells 'Truth' About Relations
LD021942 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1853 GMT 2 May 88

[Text] Moscow, May 2 (TANJUG)—The Soviet public has for the first time learned from an article published in the latest issue of the magazine NOVOYE VREMYA that all accusations raised against Yugoslavia at the time of Cominform in 1948 were fabrications and that they only reflected Stalin's sick desire for the absolute domination of all communist parties.

The Soviet side had many times up to now conceded that its policy towards Yugoslavia after the Cominform resolution was utterly wrong but had never before told the whole truth about the causes and consequences of that policy.

The author of the NOVOYE VREMYA article, Doctor of History Vladimir Zelenin, sets out now that the Yugoslav party alone had enough strength to resist Stalin's pressures and that time has shown that the Yugoslav party's policy of resistance was correct.

Since Yugoslavia had made with its national liberation struggle an outstanding contribution to the victory over fascism and its fighters were tried friends of the Soviet Union, the Cominform resolution "was incredible for all of us", Zelenin writes. He qualifies the Cominform resolution as a "gross repudiation of the principles of the autonomy and equality of parties and of the Marxist-Leninist concept of respect for diversity in socialist development".

Zelenin condemns also the 1949 Cominform resolution in which the false accusations against Yugoslavia were repeated.

The (?Soviet historian) sets out that the Cominform resolutions went as far as to call on the Yugoslav Communists forcibly to replace their leadership should it fail to bow to the demands of the "omnipotent" centre in Moscow.

Soviet citizens had all the time been deprived of objective information about Yugoslavia where exceptionally interesting processes of seeking solutions to socialist development were taking place. Among the processes, stresses the Soviet historian, self-management is most significant.

It was only at the 27th congress of the Soviet party in 1985, and during the recent visit of Soviet Party Chief Mikhail Gorbachev to Yugoslavia, that everything was clarified in the right way, assesses Zelenin. He underscores that the Yugoslav-Soviet declaration (?signed during) Gorbachev's visit, confirmed that only an absolute equality amongst the parties and the mutual respect, can secure good relations between the states and the parties. Yugoslavia has always adhered to these principles, says Zelenin in conclusion citing an excerpt from Gorbachev's speech (?in) Belgrade: "The experience of those years has become a lesson from which proper conclusions should be drawn."

TANJUG Comments on Letter in Soviet Weekly
LD011652 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1608 GMT 1 May 88

[Text] Moscow, May 1 (TANJUG)—The SOVETSKAYA KULTURA weekly today printed a letter from a reader who says that the majority of the people are for Gorbachev, and that only a handful, sitting in offices behind double doors and waiting to see what will happen, are against him.

The party apparatus is far from supporting Gorbachev unanimously and always, but the people will not remain silent if there were attempts to block perestroyka, the letter says.

By publishing this and similar letters, the Soviet press is contributing to the strengthening of democratization and the openness of work.

SOVETSKAYA KULTURA also published a letter by citizen Borohovich who directly names Mikhail Gorbachev and resolutely defends him. He urges the launching of a democratic procedure in which the Central Committee of the Soviet Communists Party would only be empowered to put on the agenda the question of the general secretary's removal from office. After this, a polemics should be initiated in the mass media between those for, and those against such a proposal.

Only in such a way can we prevent a small group of people form deciding on the country's future, Borohovich writes. He warns that if this procedure is not introduced, it is realistic to expect a Central Committee session which would remove Mikhail Gorbachev from the post of secretary general.

This letter is the first in which a citizen proceeds from the stand that Mikhail Gorbachev could be removed from office in the manner which had been used in the Soviet Union in the past.

Talks Held With Soviet Trade Delegations
LD0505081788 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1218 GMT 4 May 88

[Text] Belgrade, May 4 (TANJUG)—Trade union tasks in carrying out a programme of social and economic changes in Yugoslavia and the perestroyka programme in the Soviet Union were the focus of talks here today between the delegations of the Yugoslav Confederation of Trade Union and the Soviet All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, headed by Presidents Zvonimir Hruber and Stepan Alekseyevich Shalayev respectively.

The Soviet visitors were interested in the role and tasks of Yugoslav trade unions in developing self-management in enterprises and the political system of socialist self-management as a whole.

The two delegations discussed the possibility of a more active role of trade unions in the world, particularly in Europe, in preserving peace, disarmament, protecting workers' rights, natural and working environment and development problems.

They upheld the initiated process of disarmament and easing of tensions in international relations.

Cooperation between the two countries' trade union organizations was assessed as favourable and it was agreed to further promote it.

Mojsov Sends Message to WHO Assembly

LD0305171188 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1450 GMT 3 May 88

[Text] Belgrade, May 3 (TANJUG)—Along with wealth in the world, there is famine and poverty reigning in many developing countries, where the levels of health and medical protection can only be too low—it is assessed in a message by President of the Yugoslav State Presidency Lazar Mojsov to the Assembly of the World Health Organization (WHO) in Geneva.

Health of the people cannot be separated from the development of society and general conditions in which people live and work—says the message sent for the WHO's 40th anniversary. The halted economic growth together with poverty, it is added in the message, are inevitably accompanied by unequal distribution of resources for health and medical protection thus closing a vicious circle in which health constitutes one of the prerequisites for overall development.

The whole mankind now passes the test of conscience in the fulfilment of the WHO's goal to secure health to all people in the world up to the year 2000, the message says in conclusion.

Slovene Daily Reports on France Popit's Speech

AU0405201388 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 12 Apr 88 p 1

[Report on speech by France Popit, president of Slovene Presidency, on occasion of the awarding of the Kidric Prizes for achievement in the field of inventions and innovations; Janez Kovacic report: "This Year's Kidric Prizes Presented"]

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 11 Apr—[passage omitted] France Popit, president of the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia, spoke about the significance of science, and especially about the current political and economic situation. Yugoslavia, and Slovenia with it, is experiencing difficult times and a destructive crisis which, as he put it, has been going on for too long. There can be no doubt "that the creators of the present system's solutions and the shapers of the current economic policy remain superficial, and so do the proposed solutions and acts. They do not know how, they do not want, or they are unable to examine with critical thought the background of events, and they turn economic policy into a negation of the principles of socialist self-management.... We could call this behavior a counterrevolution, too...." The world around us is developing faster and faster, knowledge amasses more rapidly, countries are joining together on the basis of their economic interests, "but we look backward more and more, we increasingly pull apart on the basis of reinterpretations of historical facts that are often arbitrary, and we are beginning even to hate each other..." Popit stated. [passage omitted]

Further on Speech

AU0405201488 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 13 Apr 88 p 8

[From the "What They Say" column: "Only a Successful Economy Leads out of the Crisis"]

[Text] France Popit, president of the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia, at the presentation of Kidric awards:

Again we are reacting in the opposite way to the developed world. Instead of opening toward this world, we are building a self-sufficient economy. Instead of resolutely applying a modern market-planned economic system with all its economic and social consequences, we are restoring in practice the centrally planned statist economy, through which the workers class, the peoples, and the nationalities are being dispossessed, and thus new hotbeds of conflicts are created, and so forth. Such political reasoning does not include us in the European integration processes in our foreign policy, either. Internally, science, education, culture, and some other social activities that play the role of active production factors in the modern world are proclaimed to be consumption.

Of course, the circumstances are not so black in all fields and in all the communities. There is a single reason for my putting such a point and edge to this: I wish to express my vision of the future in an unequivocal way. Affirmatively speaking: I advocate an immediate, thorough, and comprehensive social renovation, along the line of the latest party congresses, so that it may indeed not be too late....

Let me stress again: The political leadership of Slovenia, which in this respect enjoys the support not only of the working people and citizens of the SR of Slovenia but also of some other Yugoslav communities, gives priority to the economy in the widest sense of the word. We assert that only a successful economy, emanating from the principles of socialist self-management, open to the world, will lead out of the crisis. Therefore, the changes in the economic, political, and other subsystems must be subordinated to this goal. Others prefer political aspects,

and they say that these should be given priority; and the selection of the main subjects occupying the Yugoslav political attention at present follows from this premise. In this light, one should see my frequent repetitions of the thought that your voice, the voice of the technical and scientific intelligentsia, and of that part of the rest of the intelligentsia that is professionally and existentially directly linked to associated labor, is desired and necessary when all other voices are heard. This is only another way of expressing the main idea of our progressive public, which demands an integration of the most creative forces of our peoples and nationalities, and their concentration on the true key problems, which means the problems that should be solved in an appropriate way so that the social and national interests of the Yugoslavs can be realized. A conscious or unconscious flight from the core of the problems to the periphery cannot end well.

Racan Addresses Sevnica May Day Meeting

LD011510 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1203 GMT 1 May 88

[Excerpts] Sevnica, 1 May (TANJUG)—Several thousand people from all over Slovenia, joined by guests from neighboring Croatia and from Pirot and Babusnica in Serbia and from the municipalities twinned with Sevnica, gathered together at historic Lisca, above Sevnica, today for the central Yugoslav May Day celebration.

As is known 5 decades ago, at the beginning of May 1938, the temporary leadership of the KPJ [Yugoslav Communist Party] was formed at Lisca. It was made up of Josip Broz Tito, Edvard Kardelj, Franc Leskosek, Miha Marinko, Josip Kras, Drago Petrovic, Andrija Zaja, Milovan Djilas, and Aleksandar Rankovic. That was an act of far-reaching importance for the further development of the communist party and of the revolutionary movement in Yugoslavia.

On behalf of the LCY Central Committee, those attending the Lisca-88 meeting, including the representatives of the sociopolitical life of the frederation of Slovenia and of the YPA [Yugoslav People's Army], the Kozjansko Detachment veterans and national liberation struggle activists were welcomed and congratulated on the May Day holiday by Ivica Racan, member of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee. [passage omitted]

The existing socioeconomic crisis and stagnation, in Racan's view, without doubt affords a favorable climate for fomenting various nationalistic platforms and activity. Experience serves a warning to us, is the view held by Racan, that we should not neglect or underrate the attack by hegemonistic or separatist national aspirations. The finger that points out only the nationalism of others is not in a position in the same way to apply the same criteria to critically analyze its own environment. It is a simple fact that it is inspired by nationalism itself. As a result the forces of socialism in all our environments, in the republics and provinces, must resist nationalism publicly, directly, and by resorting to the force of argument. The credibility of our response depends primarily on our own positive program, on its clarity, credibility, and attained results, said Ivica Racan.

Speaking of the process of international democratization of the LC, Ivica Racan said that the interests of the parts and of the whole can be perceived and manifested only in a democratic exchange of ideas and experience and in democratic relations. Democratization of the LC is, at the same time, the condition for strengthening responsibility, unity, and efficiency of the LC under the current social conditions. It is also the condition for further social, economic, and political democratization. Without genuine democratization, and without accepting and respecting the differences in what we all share, it is impossible to overcome the existing crisis in the Yugoslav community of nations and nationalities and to develop socialist self-management, Racan evaluated. False unity or ideologically imposed or proclaimed unity at any cost will not provide an incentive for innovatory work, knowledge, and creative endeavour, and yet our dire need is precisely in freeing and in confirming in practice all the creative potential in our society. Democratization is possible only by respecting the differences, by showing greater understanding for the stands and positions of others, by patience in the endeavors to arrive at a synthesis, by reinforcing the understanding that high quality solutions can be arrived at only through dialogue and by confronting different stances.

In Racan's view, economic and social reform has to be tackled resolutely and workers' and general national support for the step must be obtained. This will cause great problems, especially social ones, but it will open up opportunities. Without that step, these problems will be exacerbated in an explosive way, and that includes national problems. The people are still ready, he believes, to make self-denials and sacrifices, but only if they are convinced that this will produce positive results. For this reason, it is essential that the LCY should resolutely carry out its orientation for the development of self-management and the market-planned system, de-etatization and deregulation, strengthening of the legal state, and democratization of society, which presupposes a stronger democratization of relations within the LC as the leading ideopolitical force behind this process, stressed Racan. He added that the extent to which confidence will be restored and strengthened and the extent to which it actually will be a vanguard of the working class and of our people here and now will depend on this. The LCY will have to make a considerable contribution to this orientation during the imminent LCY conference, Racan said in conclusion.

Writers Debate Serb-Albanian Relations

AU0205194188 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 27 Apr 88 p 12

[X. Mustafa, A. Berisha report: "A Test of Moral and Intellectual Principles"]

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Apr—On the basis of the agreement between the Board of the Serbian Writers Association and the Presidium of the Kosovo Writers Association, a 2-day debate on the topic of "Serbs and Albanians in Yugoslavia Today" began in Belgrade today. Although the time of this debate was announced a month ago, participants were forced at the last moment to use a room at 7 Francuska Street [seat of the Serbian Writers Association] that was far too small to accommodate the large number of interested people. Apart from writers and other enthusiasts for this and other kinds of controversial discussion, a large number of journalists covered this debate among writers of Serbian and Albanian nationality, a fact that in itself testifies to the great interest among the public in this unusual meeting.

Aleksander Petrov opened the discussion on "Serbs and Albanians in Yugoslavia Today," which included many random views and opinions. After welcoming the delegation of the Kosovo Writers Association and other guests, Petrov considered the political situation in Kosovo. He drew on an excessively politicized vocabulary to dwell especially on the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins and the supposed tragedy of these two peoples. We writers, Petrov emphasized, are not merely witnesses to this tragedy, but participants in it. At this point he declared in an exceptionally alarmist fashion, "I am talking about life in Kosovo and Metohija, but in fact there is no life there. In this context, two speakers produced various statistics, purely and simply to illustrate Serbian and Montenegrin emigration (a phenomenon which, of course, nobody in the debate disputed), and remarked, with an extremism born of long practice, that the life of these two peoples is worse than slavery. It is not only Serbs who live in Kosovo, but Kosovo is a sacred place for the Serbs alone," Petrov emphasized, among other things. [quotation marks as received]

Aspects of a Covert, Destructive Strategy [subhead]

Ibrahim Rugova said that on the basis of the long-troubled relations between our two peoples, which have especially deteriorated during the last 7 years, one could imagine that those sitting around this table today are enemies. However, with a spirit of goodwill and bearing in mind the positive aspects of our history, which are often forgotten and ignored, we can say that we meet as friends, who have experienced many misunderstandings that must be overcome. Rugova cited the attacks and accusations leveled against the Albanian nationality in recent years and against their past and present history and culture as a destructive strategy. Rugova said that thinking about Kosovo is, alas, now becoming extinct in Yugoslavia, especially in Serbia, so that Kosovo is becoming a mythological construct, which aims to deny historical and present-day reality, a mythological notion that is part of the tactics of a covert campaign against a people.

Speaking specifically about this destructive campaign, Rugova mentioned the appearance of certain brutal slanders on one side, and of defensive gestures on the other. If we carefully study this array of slanders, we can see that they are all part of the same problem—an anti-Albanian campaign that has been waged by sections of the press and cultural and academic institutions for the past 7 years. Apart from in the historical field and the study of ethnogenesis, where the descent of the Albanians from the ancient Illyrians has been denied, we can see this campaign even more clearly when certain topical issues are discussed.

Despite undeniable achievements attained by the Albanian nationality since the war, there have been many errors and failures that have been the result of a continual, covert strategy aimed at preventing this nationality from developing. Such a situation has arisen yet again, with the revival, in a new guise, of the old Kosovo myth, which first arose in opposition to the Turks and the Ottoman Empire, and which was transformed into an anti-Albanian myth before the war. Ibrahim Rugova said among other things that the Kosovo situation, which is not as black as it is painted, can only improve through greater democratization and more humanism, not through repression.

Pavle Ivic stressed that he considered this meeting as an attempt to achieve better understanding and agreement among the writers of the two peoples. Social relations cannot be correctly viewed without democracy or where total freedom does not exist. The most important form of freedom involves meticulous respect for freedom of thought and the frank expression of opinion. All nations, Pavle Ivic said, have a right to cultural integrity, even when they are divided by political borders.

At the same time, great historical and cultural figures belong to a people as a whole. Skenderbeg, for instance, is a national hero in Pristina just as in Tirana, in Gjirokaster just as in Podujevo. The brilliant pages of Kadare's prose are a treasure for the entire Albanian people and the whole of mankind, despite this author's political statements.

Ivic devoted the larger part of his speech to population policy in Kosovo. According to him, one of the most important causes of the high Kosovo birthrate is the insufficient education and backwardness of Kosovo women. One can say it is not merely a question of the position of women, but of ideology—an inherited patriarchal ideology, and a new national ideology. Therefore, it is not merely health education that is lacking, but general education that would explain to people what a catastrophe the high birthrate among Albanians in Yugoslavia will entail. Alongside the problem of population growth, Ivic also considered the problem of high unemployment in Kosovo, and added that the only way out is a radical reduction of the birthrate. Therefore, he concluded, calls not to broach the birthrate issue, considered objectively, do not stem from patriotic motives.

Old Prejudices and the Creation of New Ones [subhead]

In his 18-point speech, Rexhep Qosja spoke about certain suppressed aspects of Albanian-Serbian relations in

Yugoslavia. Specifically, he stressed, I shall speak about various forms of injustice meted out against the Albanians, whether as individuals or a nationality, by certain institutions. For instance, a political campaign, unprecedented both in Albanian-Serbian relations and in Kosovo, is being waged in Serbian newspapers, magazines, literature, and academic life, and this campaign also extends its influence into Macedonia, and to some extent into Montenegro. This campaign has roused old prejudices about the Albanians and has created new ones: It has increased distrust and intolerance toward them, and has created an anti-Albanian psychosis with dire consequences, which has greatly reduced their quality of life.

Rexhep Qosja went on to say that in this situation certain cultural and academic figures and writers, who are primarily famous for their anti-Albanian articles and attitudes, have achieved special prominence in society. For the first time since the war, works in the Serbian propaganda tradition are being republished, in which the Albanians are most malevolently discussed. The especially strong expressions of gratitude and high honors heaped upon the academician Vasa Cubrilovic cannot be removed from the context of this anti-Albanian psychosis.

Rexhep Qosja went on to say that Serbian intellectuals excuse violations of principle in the theoretical discussion of intranational relations purely and simply in order to "theoretically" justify restrictive and repressive measures against the Albanians. These writers and intellectuals make a lot of noise about the absence of equality for Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo, whereas facts show the opposite. Qosja supported this observation with a range of statistics from the past and from recent years relating to employment, housing, and standards of living in general. For instance, in 1986, for every 1,000 inhabitants in Kosovo, 109 Albanians, 228 Serbs, and 258 Montenegrins were employed, and the socioeconomic position of Serbs and Montenegrins is 2 and one-half times better than that of the Albanians and others in Kosovo. Migration from Kosovo, according to Rexhep Qosja, has been a result of economic causes and low standards of living, while better conditions and other privileges have been created for Serbs and Montenegrins to persuade them to abandon the idea of emigration and to encourage their return.

After speaking at length about many other aspects of the reality of society in our province, Rexhep Qosja said that Kosovo's autonomy has in practice been suspended several times in recent years. Perhaps because it is thought to have been created on ethnic principles, this autonomy has shown itself to be a tender plant, flattened by the slightest breeze. People talk and write about the migration of Serbs and Montenegrins into Serbia proper, and measures are taken to urge their return, but nobody ever talks about the migration of Albanians to America and Western Europe, let alone their return. Invitations to live and work in Kosovo are extended to people in every part of the country who wish to accept them, while they talk at the same time about sending Albanians to other parts of Yugoslavia. I can in no way imagine, Rexhep Qosja said, that such inconsistencies, and the planned emigration of Albanians, are permissible under the present SFRY Constitution. Yet nobody speaks or writes about these and similar issues.

Therefore, writers and other intellectuals, as intellectuals of the majority people which have decided the fate of the minority Albanian population for the last 75 years, must pass or fail a test of their intellectual and moral principles and of their dedication to justice and humanism, measured by their attitude to the rights and freedoms of the Albanians, Rexhep Qosja said, among other things.

On an "Anti-Serbian Atmosphere" and "Albanian Culture on the Defense" [subhead]

Radosav Stojanovic began his speech by remarking that much has been said about the reasons for Serbian and Montenegrin emigration from Kosovo, but it seems that the real reason that has given rise to all these severe pressures, and also "minor" psychological ones, has gone unmentioned. It is a question, he went on to say, of an anti-Serbian mood and atmosphere, which has been created among the Albanian nationality in Kosovo down through the decades. The tradition of an anti-Serbian spirit lies at the very basis of the formation of the League of Prizren in 1878, and has become a current national greater-Albanian program, as founded in our day by Enver Hoxha, and accepted wholeheartedly by various Ballist and separatist forces in our country and abroad. Between the two wars, the Albanians were persuaded that it is the Serbs who prevent the development and affirmation of the Albanians in Yugoslavia, and this to some degree was also a feint put forward by the Serbian bourgeoisie, but never accepted by the people, the proletariat, and progressive young people. The part of the Resolution of the Conference of Bujan [Dec-Jan 1943-44] which anticipated that Kosovo would be united with Albania after the war gave exceptionally powerful encouragement to this anti-Serbian mood. An anti-Serbian atmosphere especially began to grow after 1966, when the aim of the fourth LCY Central Committee plenum was distorted in Kosovo into a settling of accounts with "Greater Serbian bureaucratic chauvinism," instead of being directed against abuses in the state security services. Between 1966 and 1981, the national affirmation of the Albanians was mainly construed to mean restrictions on the rights of Serbs and Montenegrins to a demonstration of national identity, in other words to mean an anti-Serbian spirit, which argued that the Serbs should find room for themselves in Serbia, because Kosovo is Albanian. These are the principal attitudes which, by creating an anti-Serbian spirit among the Albanian nationality, mainly influenced, and still encourage, emigration from Kosovo. Still today, on the basis of the modernized League of Prizren program, an undeniable campaign of genocide is being waged against Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo and within the

borders mapped out for Greater Albania. The Albanian intelligentsia has kept silent over these things to a greater extent that has been recognized hitherto, Stojanovic said among other things.

Sabri Hamiti spoke in his speech about Albanian culture, or, more precisely, about Albanian culture on the defense or in a position of confrontation. Considering this issue both in its historical perspective and as regards the present day, he said that Albanian culture has always been braced to oppose foreign cultures, a phenomenon that does not deny contact with foreign cultures or mutual influences. From the beginning, the Albanian book was considered dangerous, and, as we see, is here and there still considered as such today. For this reason, from its beginnings up to the present day, Albanian culture has been dominated by artists of a Promethean type, which the people appreciate most.

Talking about the development of Albanian culture in Yugoslavia in the last 4 decades, Sabri Hamiti emphasized that written Albanian literature has flourished and achieved an extraordinary rebirth in this newest cultural phase. Among other things, an awareness has been created and strengthened that Albanian culture did not simply grow here, but is a branch of the ancient trunk of Albanian culture with all its great treasures: It is therefore a matter of cultural continuity. This cultural awareness is a key to Albanian thinking at the present time, and is an awareness which must also penetrate the cultures with which Albanian culture is in contact. It is precisely here that misunderstandings on the cultural level arise. These misunderstandings are based on ignorance. The now exploded and ludicrous idea that Albanian culture and literature in Yugoslavia were born and grew after 1945 relies upon false and naive ideology. In fact, it starts from the assumption that in a new society everything must be "new," including Albanian culture, seen as being presented to the Albanians as a gift. This is merely a new version of the ideology that denies the existence of this ancient culture, or denies that what is now being created is merely a phase or point in its continuity. One can still come across such an ingrained ideological attitude toward this cultural continuity in various publications in Yugoslavia. Not mentioning the ideas of this ideology or its authors, let us say that their common denominator is ignorance of Albanian culture and ignorance of its essence and extent, out of cultural or non-cultural motives. Yet the situation becomes even worse if ignorance of a culture is used as an argument to deny it. This resembles those attempts to destroy cultures that are familiar from the past. This is an atmosphere in which cultures can be smothered and assimilated, and an atmosphere for the cultural totalitarianism that is worse than political totalitarianism. We must stress with forthright rage and bitterness that never before in history has Albanian culture been written about so tendentiously on Yugoslav soil as in recent years. There has also been a tendency to isolate Albanian culture in Yugoslavia, and to develop it according to special criteria and conditions in three republics and one province.

Concluding his speech, Sabri Hamiti said that Albanian culture is an ancient, indigenous culture that has grown through the creation and defense of its own identity down the years, and as such has shown signs of a morality and a humanism that has protected it from exaggerated emotions and aggressiveness. Another ancient saying might be added to the old proverb which says that things that are bad must be spoken of with disgust: always speak the truth, but do not hate those who lie.

The discussion on "Serbs and Albanians in Yugoslavia Today" continued yesterday afternoon.

Assembly Examines Crime Situation

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[D. Ivanovic report: "Without a Single Terrorist Act"]

[Text] The Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs has presented its usual report on this year's work to the Yugoslav Assembly. Along with an appraisal of the situation, there are also specific data concerning security in individual areas in 1987.

Hostile Activity—Criminal charges were brought against 18 people who had been involved in intelligence activities, and the courts convicted 11 people under the same charges.

Thanks to the measures that have been undertaken, immigrants did not manage to organize any terrorist activity in our country.

Internal affairs organs brought 238 criminal charges against people who had acted from positions of internal hostility, and charged 2,920 with misdemeanors and warned 1,018 people for the same reason.

Travel—The number of trips abroad made by our citizens increased by 7.4 percent last year (in 1986 there were 24,331,062 and in 1987 26,146,137). The internal affairs organs issued or extended 1.6 million passports. Of the applications for passports or for their extension, 0.02 percent were not accepted because the necessary conditions had not been fulfilled.

About 36 million foreigners stayed in Yugoslavia, which is 10 percent more than in 1986. Criminal proceedings were brought against 798 foreigners for violating our regulations, 14,710 were charged with misdemeanors, 83,445 were fined, 2,030 were expelled from Yugoslavia, and 465 foreigners were refused entry and escorted to the border.

Drugs—More than 160 kilograms of narcotic drugs were seized on Yugoslav territory in 1987, of which there were 110 kilograms of heroin.

Crime—Serious and organized crime is on the increase, and so is crime to the detriment of social property. In 1987 the internal affairs organs dealt with more than

30,000 of these criminal acts, which is 7.6 percent more than in 1986.

Traffic—Last year, there were 150,000 traffic accidents in which 4,500 people died and more then 60,000 people were injured to a greater or lesser degree. Damage to vehicles and buildings amounted to 60 billion dinars. The internal affairs organs temporarily took away about 122,000 driving licenses, took 87,000 vehicles off the road, submitted more than 1 million requests for summary convictions, and issued 3,365,360 million on-the-spot fines.

Kosovo—Thanks to numerous social and security measures, the overall social climate in Kosovo has improved to a certain extent, but the activities of Albanian separatists and nationalists and other nationalists continue, and represent a long-term security problem.